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Agrigento, Temple of Concordia

CALYPSO AND ELYSIUM

WILLIAM S. ANDERSON

OMER, AS HE DID SO many other things for Greek culture, established the general outlines of a future happiness, for later poets to elaborate and for religious thinkers to incorporate into the theology of Orphism and of the Eleusinian mysteries. In Od. 4, 561-70 occurs the first extant reference to Elysium, at the point where Menelaus. recounting his experiences in Egypt. cites a special prophecy delivered to him by Proteus, "As for you, divinely nurtured Menelaus, you are not destined to meet your fate and die in horseraising Argos; but the immortals will send you to the Elysian Plain, to the ends of the earth, where Rhadamanthys of the tawny hair is, where life is supremely easy for men. No hail, no heavy snow, no rain ever falls, but Ocean forever sends over the breezes of the gentle west wind to refresh men. This you will have because you have married Helen and are the son-in-law of Zeus."

I shall not here concern myself with the religious implications of this concept of Elysium, important though they are. Rather, I intend to discuss the meaning of Elysium to Menelaus in the context of the epic and to investigate the structural and semantic relation between Elysium in Book 4 and Calypso's Isle in Book 5. Some scholars have questioned this passage and pronounced it a late interpolation because of its religious concepts; other students of Greek religion have defended it as undoubtedly Homeric. ¹ But when one considers Proteus' prophecy and its

context, it quickly becomes clear that Homer can be more easily defended by literary analysis in this case than by religious scholarship. Far from being a separable element, the description of a marvelous future existence ultimately depends precisely upon the context in which it is placed, namely, the story told by Menelaus of his arduous voyage back from Troy, the trials he endured for the sake of Zeus' daughter, Helen. I shall accordingly regard Od. 4. 561-70 as genuinely Homeric, because it functions so integrally in the delineation of Menelaus and Sparta.

To see how the Elysian prophecy serves Homer's purpose, it is first necessary to grasp the general tendency of his description of Sparta up to that point. The poet chooses a particular occasion for Telemachus' arrival, for Sparta is celebrating the marriages of Menelaus' two children, Hermione and Megapenthes. This scene of festivity is enhanced by the resplendent appearance of Menelaus' palace. The glitter of the various metals used for ornament and for the banquet instantly provokes the admiration of Telemachus and Peisistratus (4. 43 ff.), both of whom come from wealthy homes. Later, Telemachus cannot help exclaiming over all the rich metals on display, and he compares their owner to Zeus himself: the Olympian palace must resemble Menelaus' (4. 71 ff.). This first impression, that Menelaus, because we find him on a festal occasion surrounded by striking quantities of wealthy things, must be divinely fortunate, receives immediate

qualification from none other than the king himself. Yes, he admits, he is the richest man in the world (80), but he cannot be entirely content with it. Too much has happened as he acquired these splendid things, too much that he can never forget, because he has been directly or indirectly responsible for untold misery. During the seven years that he wandered in the eastern Mediterranean, Agamemnon returned to Argos and was murdered. With that memory, Menelaus can never be satisfied among his possessions (93). In addition, the stage for prosperity was set only by the destruction of his previous home and the loss of countless friends at Troy (95 ff.). In other words, for Menelaus all the glittering precious metals adorning his table and palace inevitably connote the circumstances of the Trojan War; the Rape of Helen which ruined his marriage and made him abandon his palace and people to ten years of neglect, the various friends who fought for his happiness and died, having gained nothing. That past cannot be forgotten, although for a while it may be blotted out by festivity (100 ff.). Finally, Menelaus says that the chief weight on his conscience, the principal blight upon his happiness, springs from his grief for Odysseus, the architect of Greek victory, who alone has not returned home, who has disappeared so that he cannot be called definitely alive or dead (104 ff.).

These opening scenes at Sparta force upon us an ambiguous impression of the king's prosperity, and they very carefully link Menelaus and Odysseus in a relation that remains as yet not entirely clear. While Menelaus luxuriates at home amid an unequalled collection of exotic things from Egypt, Cyprus and North Africa, thoughts come to him of his comrade Odysseus, far away from his home, perhaps dead. certainly the source of grief to the family in Ithaca. It is, we gather at this stage, particularly because of Odysseus that Menelaus' conscience bothers him and refuses him contentment amid his

divine wealth. Menelaus contrasts his existence at home with the home-lessness of Odysseus, his prosperity with the misery of Odysseus and the family at Ithaca; and that contrast provides us with our first explicit link between the kings of Sparta and Ithaca.

Menelaus has not completely accounted for his discontent, however. If his conscience bothers him over the price paid for the recovery of Helen and the amassment of his wealth, we may legitimately infer that the object of all this effort has not proved so conclusively satisfying as he anticipated, that Helen fails to meet his romantic expectations. Until Helen appears before us, all we know is that Menelaus is dissatisfied, although Homer has shrewdly inserted that detail about the ruined home and allowed Menelaus to express a wish for the days before the Trojan War (97). Now Helen enters, and the poet concentrates on the conditions of their conjugal bliss, with inevitable references to Odysseus again.

Homer immediately compares Helen to the goddess Artemis (122), and the epithet which he applies to Artemis, "the one with the golden distaff," perfectly fits Helen, who also possesses a golden distaff (131). Like the divine Menelaus, his wife enters accompanied with much gold and silver acquired in distant Egypt. In his initial description, then, Homer has emphasized the same qualities in Helen as in Menelaus: divinity, rich surroundings. Now he proceeds to explore the extent of her happiness. Being a woman and more subtle than her husband, Helen never tells us expressly how she feels; on the other hand, we can infer from the way she acts and speaks that her present life is conditioned by past experiences and contentment is not within her reach. She recognizes the resemblance of Telemachus and Odysseus, therefore immediately recalls the Trojan War and her part in it, a very dramatic part indeed. It may seem that she admits her guilt with the epithet of "dog-faced" (145), as though she utterly abominates

the woman that she once was. As the scene proceeds, however, Helen shows a distinct affection for those former days and her former self. She weeps with the memory of Troy and its private significance to her, as the others recall their personal involvement in that war (184), as Menelaus relates his plans to settle Odysseus down in one of his Argive cities (174). How fond the memory of Troy is to Helen emerges from her story.

To set the scene properly for Helen's story, Homer relates her use of nepenthe. In Sparta, husband and wife must cast a veil over the past, try to forget the circumstances which brought first Helen, then Menelaus to Troy, merely recall events as adventures which have no bearing upon the present. Oblivion does not come easily, for human feelings go deep and the scars of the past do not disappear. Therefore, to create the ideal conditions for reception of her evocation of the past, Helen must use a drug. Even that drug cannot put to sleep the emotions of Menelaus nor. I suspect, those of Helen. Ostensibly she recounts an adventure of Odysseus which defines his intrepid character, but the heroine of the tale, be it noticed, soon dominates the scene; and that heroine is Helen. We focus our attention on the acute intelligence of this woman who alone recognized the disguised Odysseus, on her secret loyalty to the Greeks, upon her delight in the Trojan grief, and finally upon her changed heart which makes her long for Menelaus and home again. In short, Helen has dramatized herself, recalled her days of glory, and at the same time rather falsified the facts. As the immediate rejoinder of Menelaus in the form of a second Trojan story proves, others interpret her behavior differently. Even after the death of Paris, her longing for her home did not deter her from becoming the lover of Deiphobus (276) nor from unscrupulously misusing the Greeks' desire for their wives in order to lure them. if possible, from the wooden horse. It

takes no great effort to imagine the poignancy of Menelaus' memory: his own wife pretending the loving tones of each particular Greek wife, while he crouched there inside the horse, cursing her shamelessness and yet apparently unable to control his own desire for her. Only Odysseus resisted the false Penelope and forced the others to keep quiet.

Two conflicting memories of Troy expose the smouldering emotions that threaten the outward calm of this prosperous scene in Sparta. Menelaus and Helen cannot discuss this past, because each has participated in it in a different, or rather opposing, manner. Menelaus knows that Helen never conclusively broke with the Trojans, never allowed her momentary twinges of shame to disturb for long the pleasant tenor of her life: and Helen knows that she enjoyed the power which she had over history to provoke such a war, could not help but be attracted by the frivolous Paris, could not avoid abusing the uxorious Menelaus. Such recollections cannot be obliterated even by periodic draughts of nepenthe, even by the glittering surroundings of the Spartan palace. The fact is, unlike Penelope, Helen never did anything to remain loyal to Menelaus and never made a convincing effort to return to him. When the husband recovers her, then, he has little to give him satisfaction. If the later legend can be mentioned here, Menelaus may all along have intended to kill Helen for her adultery; but at the crucial moment he proved too weak. In any case, Homer makes evident that possession of Olympian wealth and marriage with Zeus' daughter has not been and is not now able to confer happiness upon Menelaus. Even the festal occasion of the children's marriage becomes qualified with strains of sadness. Hermione, a girl who virtually grew up without a mother, now marries Neoptolemus and embarks upon her tragic experiences of love. Megapenthes' marriage in itself has little significance, but Homer tells us that he is

not Helen's son; on this basis, we can immediately interpret the name as an expression of Menelaus' sorrow for his lost wife. With the departure of these two children, if we allow our imagination to wander a little, we can expect that the present tension between husband and wife can only increase. Growing older, with nothing to look forward to in the way of a family or in each other's company, Helen and Menelaus will sit opposite each other, living in their conflicting memories.

The day after Telemachus' arrival at Sparta, Menelaus recounts his wanderings and what he knows of Odysseus. We do not have to go into Menelaus' adventures in Egypt, for they do not add especially to the background which we have already discussed. The seven years of Menelaus' separation from Sparta constitute, of course, the nearest analogy with Odysseus' longer absence; and Homer has continued his subtle contrast. Menelaus roves the eastern Mediterranean, whose associations are prevalently of wealth, drugs, special arts: while Odysseus, we learn, faces alternately monsters and temptations of the flesh in the west. From his experiences. Menelaus learns nothing: he apparently never comes to a reconciliation with his wife except upon the most superficial level, and the only practical result of his travels consists in the wealth which gives him no satisfaction. Odysseus, of course, experiences a considerable change of heart after his many trials. Finally, when he tells of Proteus, Menelaus explicitly associates himself with Odysseus. Immediately before he reports the prediction of his blessed future in Elysium, Menelaus tells what he knows about Odysseus: the Ithacan sits helplessly on the island of Calypso, weeping, without comrades or ship to speed him home over the sea (555-60). With no transition, Proteus then turns to Menelaus and delivers to him the prophecy cited at the beginning of the paper.

On the face of it, the promise of eternal existence would seem quite at-

tractive. The easy existence, the balmy atmosphere, the ideal climate represent a concept of paradise, and, if she were not otherwise qualified, the possession of Helen would seem to epitomize happiness. However, against the background of what Homer has described in Sparta, none of this seems so enticing. Menelaus has surrounded himself with all the physical comforts which wealth can buy, and, although he is in all likelihood the richest man in the world, he has not found happiness in these glittering halls. He has lived with Zeus' daughter for ten years since the destruction of Troy, and still both have little in common and easily yield to their divergent memories of the past. If any man can be said to rival the gods, as Telemachus innocently remarks, Menelaus is that man, with his Olympian wealth and his wife like Artemis. In character, then, Elysium offers him no compensation for earthly trials; rather, it continues the same sensuous tenor of his present existence, continues it indefinitely. Since Menelaus cannot relax in the comforts of Sparta, where at least he can expect some alternations of climate, it seems hard to accept his Elysian future as an unqualified good. As I have already argued, Menelaus' future is inevitably conditioned by his past; and, as I have intimated and now shall suggest, it is also strongly modified by the contrasting values of Odysseus.

Telemachus' visit to Sparta occupies most of Book 4, but in the last 220 lines Homer shifts the scene back to Ithaca, to re-emphasize the desperate condition of Penelope and her son, to reassert the need for Odysseus, and finally to make patent the sharp difference between Sparta and Ithaca. At Sparta, the comfortable environment barely conceals the tensions between husband and wife. At Ithaca, the dangers and temptations surrounding Penelope serve to define her unchanging devotion to her husband. One element is missing from the contrast, though repeatedly alluded to in Book 4, and Homer supplies it in the beginning of Book 5. On Calypso's Isle, the poet presents Odysseus overcoming temptations which define his attitude not only towards home, but, even more important, towards life itself.² The significance of the hero's action becomes especially clear, I hope to show, because Homer has carefully placed Odysseus in the very environment which has been promised to Menelaus.

The reasons which lead me to compare Elysium and Calypso's Isle of Ogygia may be summarized under the following five headings: (1) both Elysium and Ogygia are imaginary places: (2) both are islands; (3) both are located far to the west, presumably in the Atlantic; (4) both enjoy similar climate and ease of life; (5) both possess important associations with death. For the purposes of deriving the significance of this comparison, the last two reasons have special importance, and I shall expand upon them. The first three can be treated rather briefly, with the detail relegated to notes.

The very concept of Elysium makes it imaginary, for it defies the very essence of the real world: a physical limit on existence. Most scholars consider Ogygia imaginary, too,3 and those, like Bérard, 4 who have searched for it have failed to convince others. Again and again, we hear that Ogygia is an island. Homer's description of Elysium allows several interpretations, but, located at the limits of the earth, it certainly can suggest an island in Ocean beyond the limits of the earth. Within a short time after Homer wrote, at any rate, the concept of Elysium and that of the Isle or Isles of the Blessed became inextricably fused, as Hesiod illustrates. 5 By the fifth century, Euripides can permit the Dioscuroi to predict to Menelaus that he will escape death and go to the Isles of the Blest.6 As for the geographical location of these imaginary islands. Homer's details and ancient tradition have set them far in the west, though not universally in the Atlantic. Elysium lies at the limits of the earth in

Ocean, and, since the Greeks could only have known in Homer's time of the continental limits and existence of the ocean in the west (having explored the eastern Mediterranean), Homer's brief description suggests the west. Later writers unanimously placed Elysium's equivalent, the Isles of the Blessed, farther and farther away in the Atlantic, 7 and we actually hear of Sertorius' project of sailing thither to escape his enemies.8 Ogygia was variously placed by poets and geographers from near Crete to points on the southern coast of Italy to the Atlantic Ocean.9 On the basis of what Homer says, the Atlantic location so strenuously urged by Strabo¹⁰ seems more than likely. Clearly, from the sailing directions of Odysseus' raft and the time necessary to reach Phaeacia, the island lies far in the west. 11 Furthermore, an argument which has not been used before, visibility in the Mediterranean is such that Odysseus would have been able to see some other land from any point on a clear day; which Homer expressly denies to his hero. 12 All in all, Elysium and Ogygia tally remarkably well as islands situated in approximately the same general environment.

The climates of the two islands assume considerable importance in Homer's description, for they bear directly upon the significance of the places to their residents, Menelaus or Odysseus. The balmy wind, the freedom from seasonal variation, in contrast of course with the climate which the Greeks experienced, convey the data necessary to support Homer's assertion, that life in Elysium is supremely easy. Such a life, as the fact that Menelaus has earned it through marriage with Zeus' daughter suggests, approximates divine felicity. The same freedom from seasonal changes Homer attributes to the gods' residence (6. 43 ff.). Ogygia, too, proves so congenial to divine senses that, on his arrival there, Hermes pauses in admiration (5. 73-74). The scene which has evoked Hermes' admiration possesses all the qualities of

the island paradise: Ogygia has luxuriant growth of trees and vines, swarms with birds, abounds in water; and colorful flowers dot nearby meadows. All centers on the cave of Calvpso, from which emerge the seductive notes of the nymph's song and the pleasant scent of burning cedar logs (5. 58 ff.). This idyllic description implies the same gentle regularity of climate as on Elysium, the same effortlessness of existence. Like Elysium, therefore, Ogygia can confer upon Odysseus immortality, with all that the term connotes of security and sensuous ease. But, just as Menelaus earns his immortality through Helen, so Odysseus can become deathless only by succumbing forever to the divine Calypso.

Finally, both Elysium and Ogygia possess important associations with death. According to the prophecy of Proteus, Menelaus will escape death in Argos and be transported to the felicity of Elysium, from which we can infer that Elysium represents the desire for and possibility of personal survival after death. Because of his connection with the semi-divine Helen, Menelaus himself attains a divine state of existence, escaping the fate allotted to humanity as a whole. We have already discussed the impression which such felicity makes against the background of Sparta. In the case of Calypso's Isle, the immortality offered to Odysseus contains many suggestions not of eternal life, but of eternal death. The funereal overtones of Ogygia have been carefuly studied in Hermann Güntert's Kalypso, a book which frequently connects Ogygia and Elysium, as, for instance, in the following sentence: "Die ideal gezeichnete, friedliche Landschaft, die Hermes zum Verweilen einlädt, sie schildert also nichts anderes als Auen eines Elysions, als die Gärten eines westlichen, weltfernen Toteneilands."13 Güntert takes the traditional etymology of Calypso's name, the "Concealer," and, because of Homer's usage of the verb kalúptein, specifically in-

terprets Calypso as "she who buries."14 He interprets the name Ogygia as referring to the Underworld, Stygian. 15 The trees and flowers surrounding the cave of the nymph, conceivable as an entrance to Hades, connote death. 16 The black alder (klé•thre•) is probably funereal; the black poplar (aigeiros) Homer describes as growing also in Hades, in the glades of Persephone; 17 and the cypress still marks the location of cemeteries in Italy and Greece. The flowery meadows, parallel to the fields of asphodel through which Achilles strides (11. 539), display parsley and the purple iris, both associated with the funeral ritual.18 Finally, in all western folklore and poetry, as Güntert observes, Love and Death unite in a semantic complex of the greatest importance in interpreting human relations and motivations. 19 The pre-Wagnerian theme of Tannhäuser and Frau Venus shows a remarkable resemblance to that of Odysseus and Calypso. One can forget oneself in love, one can actually and symbolically die in love, as Shakespeare so carefully depicts Antony doing. Calypso then, in one sense, is death, with all its attractions of escape and self-indulgence.

I conclude that Homer has described Ogygia in this particular way, to make clear what Odysseus abandons: he has at his disposal all that Menelaus someday will receive, and he rejects it. Such a contrast, implicit in the juxtaposition of Odysseus and Menelaus, Ogygia and Elysium, in Proteus' speech, becomes increasingly pronounced, and therefore more significant, as a result of the detailed similarity between the two islands. Menelaus will end his human life by escaping to Elysium, where he will enjoy permanent ease in an atmosphere worthy of the son-in-law of Zeus: Odysseus begins his human life again by escaping from that oblivious ease offered him by Calypso, the one who buries.

We have seen how Menelaus' past inevitably qualifies his future on Elys'um, making it seem far less delightful than its superficial characteristics would suggest. In the same way, the events leading up to Odysseus' arrival on Ogygia help to interpret the threat of Calypso. However, Homer's organization of his story stresses the most important aspect of Odysseus' adventures. especially by the close relation between Elysium and Ogygia: namely, that decisive act of leaving Calypso. Thus, just as our last impression of Menelaus suggests his end, so our first impression of Odysseus signifies the beginning of his return, therefore of life itself. To see the departure in its complete perspective, we have to refer to the autobiographical account of Books 9-12. in which the hero explains how he came to be driven up alone on Calypso's isle,20

The adventures of Odysseus after leaving Troy alternate between various types of violence and varieties of sensual temptations, the first receiving its greatest emphasis in the encounter with Polyphemus, the second in the meeting with Circe. In all cases, Odysseus proves superior to his men, but not entirely exempt from the harmful effects of these experiences. After conquering Circe, he lets himself to a certain extent be conquered in turn and remains idly with her for a year until his men protest. Even with the forewarning of Circe, he insists on experiencing the song of the Sirens (against which he can offer no resistance) and attempting to appeal to his own futile strength to repel Scylla. It is indeed a helpless leader who sleeps while his men are committing the sacrilege, eating the cattle of the Sun, about which Teiresias has warned him. From the shipwreck which immediately engulfs his men, which provides a clear comment on Odysseus' failure as leader of men, only the hero escapes and after ten days of drifting is cast up on Calypso's isle. Briefly summarized, this is the tale that Odysseus tells Alcinous, and the hero makes no pretense of priding himself on his achievements. As he says in the form of an introduction,

he has suffered considerably (9.15) and the process of homecoming has inflicted many sorrows upon him (9.37). The architect of victory at Troy, who is washed up on Ogygia with no men to enhance his prestige, with no splendid clothes and weapons or any of the other loot of Troy or Ismarus, bruised and battered by ten days of exposure to the salt and sun, this man is symbolically stripped of all his heroic veneer and must face his new adventures with only the resources of his own dubious character.

Homer tells us nothing of that long period of seven years, approximately equal to the term of Menelaus' voyages, which Odysseus spent on Ogygia, or almost nothing. At an early stage, Calypso must have made that attractive offer of immortality. She had saved him from the sea and nursed him, brought him back to health (5. 130 ff.), and she had loved him. Nor was the love only on one side. When Homer finally, after the preparation of Books 1-4, gives us our first picture of the actual Odysseus, he describes the hero weeping and immediately offers therefor two interrelated explanations: Odvsseus longs for his home, for the nymph no longer pleases him (5. 152-53). That little word oukéti conveys a world of meaning. We see Odysseus at the crucial moment; behind that lie seven years which have apparently only gradually produced this decisive state of mind. Now, he goes to bed with the beauteous Calypso under compulsion, "cold lover with an ardent dame," as Rieu translates 5.155; but we would not be wrong in assuming that the habit implies an original mutual ardency. However, Homer allows us to set an earlier limit on his hero's oblivious enjoyment, for Proteus, nearly three years before this time, had envisioned Odysseus on Ogygia already weeping for home, already detained against his will (4. 555 ff.). The interval between then and now has been spent in confirming that will of Odysseus, in hardening his purpose to make unswervingly for Ithaca; he is not to leave Calypso only to fall under the spell of another woman. All he wants, as we learn in Book 1, is to see the smoke of his own hearth and know that he has come home (57-59).

The seven years of this sojourn with Calvpso, in the economy of the epic, render this the most severe trial of the hero. With no external commitments, with none of his martial and kingly accouterments to remind him of his position. Odysseus must search his own conscience and find his purpose in life. It is for this reason that I urge the parallelism between Elysium and Ogygia, especially the themes of entire physical comfort and the escape from life which immortality confers. The hero has reached a stage which others, including Menelaus, regard as the supreme goal of existence. Even Odysseus, after his futile efforts against Poseidon and his long struggle with the incorrigible natures of his men, found such a paradise to his liking, for a while. No men came to him after a year, as they had on Circe's island, to remind him of his responsibility. He could relax and pretend that all he really desired after the ten years of war at Troy was an eternity of ease with a beautiful woman, rather a divine nymph, at his disposal. So he did relax. He could of course rationalize his behavior to himself by saying that he was helpless, he had no ship, no means of leaving Ogygia. Therefore, he was helpless. From the perspective of the living, he had become dead. The suitors in Ithaca were vying for his wife on the assumption that he would never return. Telemachus had lost all hope in the father who was but a name to him. Only Penelope remained faithful to a living Odysseus, yet with much hesitation and soul-searching. At the end of Book 4 Penelope weeps not only for her lion-hearted husband but also for Telemachus who is threatened with the suitors' ambush. When both husband and wife weep with longing for each other, when Penelope fears her husband's death and Odysseus bewails his

loss of life's values, then the stage for reunion has been set.

Güntert's emphasis on Calypso as a goddess of death presiding over an Elysian island must also be given its poetic interpretation. Besides the fact stated above, that the hero had become dead to his family and friends, we should see what Calypso means to Odysseus himself. On Ogygia, as Menelaus will some day in Elysium, Odysseus had escaped from all the practical problems of life. In an atmosphere that appealed entirely to his senses and merely demanded his compliance, he sank into oblivion, forgotten and forgetting. All that life had signified before this, the constant struggle against the sea, the shrewd persistence at Troy. the original dedication to Ithaca and his family, ceaseless activity with an intelligent goal in sight, all this was entirely negated by Calypso. She required moral abandonment. Without pressing the psychological term, we can perhaps think of Odysseus as yielding for a while to his "death-wish," especially after all the trials that he had been through with his men. Just as he experienced one form of death in the visit to the shades, so now he experiences another form of death, this time his own, in a protracted period of sensual abandonment. Calypso buries him in her island paradise, until he reasserts his former will. When we see him for the first time, he has conquered death; despite all the attractions of the island and its nymph, he has turned his back on it all, fastened his gaze on the horizon, and his thoughts now negate Calypso with their sharp focus on Ithaca.21 Odysseus is alive again. Therefore the gods act to set him free of his prison of death.

Throughout the first four books Homer has been preparing us for our first sight of Odysseus, by describing the character and value of the man as seen through others' eyes. He has carefully contrasted the serenity of Pylos and the comforts of Sparta with the plundered, riotous palace in Ithaca. It

should not surprise us, therefore, if the scene at Sparta also serves to sharpen the outlines of the portrait of Odysseus. Proteus' speech juxtaposes the weeping Odysseus on Ogygia with the presumably contented Menelaus in Elysium. Similarly, when we actually confront Homer's hero, the memory of life in Sparta and its projection in Elysium remains. In short, the poet has added perspective by which we can judge the character of Odysseus, a man who starts from the limits of Menelaus' character; and we therefore should find the transition to Book 5 relatively easy. In this respect. Page has made an interesting suggestion in his recent book on the Odyssey.22 Admiring the artistic movement from Telemachus to Penelope to Odysseus, offended by the repetitious beginning of Book 5, with what seems a senseless assembly of the gods, Page argues that the Assembly represents a later interpolation of the Homeridae, who, singing a portion of Homer's epic beginning with the hero's appearance, needed some sort of introduction to the events and the hero. If true, the original juxtaposition of the scene on Ogygia to those in Ithaca and Sparta would stress even more forcefully the contrast between the hero and Menelaus. While Menelaus looks bitterly to the past or wearily to his Elysian escape from life, Odysseus emerges from the past a new man, entirely committed to living values. His greatness depends utterly on his humanity, his mortality. The Greeks understood clearly Odysseus' rejection of Calypso, and tradition has respected him by never assigning him to Elysium.23

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NOTES

¹ Following an earlier suggestion of Nitzsch, E. Rohde, Psyche (Leipzig, 1894) pp. 63 ff., considered the reference to Menelaus' future in 4. 561 ff. as a later interpolation. His skeptical argument was considerably amplified by P. Capelle, "Elysium und Inseln der Seligen," Archiv f. Religionswiss. 25 (1927) 245-64 and 26 (1928) 17-40. On the other hand, many students of Greek religion have insisted that the concept

of the afterlife which is represented in Proteus' prophecy springs from an earlier phase of Greek thought, long antedating Homer. Cf. L. Malten, "Elysion und Rhadamanthys," Arch. Jahrb. 28 (1913) 35 ff.; M. Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenean Religion (Lund, 1927) pp. 540 ff. and Geschichte der Griechischen Religion (Munich, 1941) vol. 1, pp. 302 ff.; and finally W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods (Boston, 1956) pp. 290-91. In general, the latter view has prevailed.

² The episode with Calypso has also suffered attack, on the grounds that it contains useless repetition of the Circe episode, which itself must be considered original. Cf. Wilamowitz' Homerische Untersuchungen (Berlin, 1884) p. 116. In reply to this criticism, one can question the fact of Circe's priority over Calypso in the original journey of Odysseus: cf. W. Kranz, "Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus," Hermes 50 (1915) 93-112. One can also question whether in fact Calypso only repeats motifs from Circe: cf. H. Güntert, Kalypso (Halle, 1919) pp. 9 ff. The best general information on Calypso will be found in the RE article of Lamer (1919). He. too. opposed Wilamowitz. Lamer differentiated: Elysium and Ogygia (col. 1788), and I shall argue against that conception. Some useful discussion of Calypso will be found in D. J. Snider, Homer's Odyssey: A Commentary (Chicago, 1895).

3 Cf. Güntert and Lamer.

⁴ V. Bérard, Calypso et la mer de l'Atlantide (Paris, 1929) identified Ogygia with Peregil, a small island off North Africa. He observed also what Eustathius long ago had noted in his commentary, that Calypso as daughter of Atlas. Atlantis, inhabits an island which in location and general associations bears close resemblance to the Atlantis described by Plato in Critias.

⁵ Cf. Capelle (see note 1). He comments especially on Hesiod's description of the Isles of the Blessed in W. & D. 169 ff. and Pindar's picture of the afterlife in Ol. 2, 68 ff.

6 Cf. Helen 1677.

⁷ Cf. the Roman tradition of the insulae divites or fortunatae, often identified with the Canary Islands, as in Strabo 1. 1. 5 and Pliny 6. 202, or vaguely located in the unexplored Atlantic: cf. Horace, Epode 16 and Diodorus 5. 19.

8 Cur earliest information on Sertorius' project comes from the near-contemporary Sallust, frag. 100 of his Historiae. The full story will be found in Plutarch's Sertorius 8. Sertorius clearly hoped to sail from Spain out into the Atlantic.

⁹ Cf. Lamer (see note 2). Our earliest evidence consists of a fragment of Hesiod quoted by the schollast at 1. 83. Ogylos off Crete was long favored. Apollonius, Arp. 4. 574 places Calypso on the island of Nymphaea off Epirus. Roman writers liked islands off southern Italy: cf. Pliny 3. 96. Dio Cassius 48. 50 places Calypso at Lake Avernus.

10 1. 2. 18.

11 In accordance with Calypso's directions, Odysseus holds a steady course by keeping Orion and the Bear on his left hand (5. 271 ff.); which means that he sails from west to east. The steady, balmy wind which the nymph gives him (268) resembles the continuous zephyr which passes over Elysium. Cf. Kranz (see note 2) p. 93.

12 It has been observed that on a clear day visibility in the Mediterranean extends to one hundred miles. Cf. E. C. Semple, The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History (New York, 1931) pp. 586 ff.; and M. Cary, The Geographical Background of Greek and Roman History (Oxford, 1949) pp. 29 ff. Both books point out, furthermore, that no easy west wind blows steadily, but the wind for navigation is a northeasterly tradewind. No island in the Mediterranean is 100 miles from another point of land; and Bérard's Peregil (note 4) lies within 10 miles of the African coast. It could be argued that Homer did not possess such accurate geographical data on the western Mediterranean, but, even so, he was describing an imaginary site, outside the experience of the Greek mariner.

- 13 Güntert (see note 2) p. 172.
- 14 Pp. 29 ff.
- 15 Pp. 167 ff.
- 16 Pp. 170 ff.
- 17 Cf. Circe's description of these glades in 10. 510.

- 18 Güntert, p. 171.
- 19 Pp. 182 ff.
- 20 Cf. the useful remarks of E. Abrahamson, "The Adventures of Odysseus," CJ 51 (1956) 313-16.
- 21 Cf. A. Parry, "Landscape in Greek Poetry," Y. Cl. St. 15 (1957) 24: "Odysseus is in this landscape, or on the edge of it; but he will not give in to its blandishments."
- ²² D. Page, The Homeric Odyssey (Oxford, 1955) p. 72.
- 23 The only ancient writer known to me to introduce Odysseus into Elysium is Lucian in that ironically named True Story of his. Since he openly sets out to mock the fantasies of Homer and Herodotus, one might well argue percontra that, if Lucian placed Odysseus after death on the Blessed Isles, then he definitely did not belong there in popular and literary tradition. Cf. Lucian, True Story 2. 5 ff. In the same way, Lucian makes Odysseus write to Calypso expressing regret that he ever left her (29 and 35).



BITTER MEED

BE NOT AFRAID TO DIE; the fields are strewn
With many graves, and in those graves there be
The mocking lids of frail mortality,
That once were open, yet did never see
Man other than a stonesmith; thence were hewn

Grey marble shafts, and heartsblood went to raise The granite tomb, and men transmitted fire Of soul into the ancient pit, desire Of fame. Look not askance at dust; the lyre Sounds bold for cryptless Sappho in the days

Of her demise, and Homer hath no need Of staring definition on an urn. Three thousand years ambition's ashes churn In a dipylon crater, but to learn A name is anchored glory, bitter meed

For those who rode in chariots of the king. The spirit door is answer. Phidias rose Anonymous and trusting; Gothic flows As in the stream of purest life; man knows Above his language if a Caedmon sing.

Be not afraid to die; but first effect A murder of thyself: cut forth the "I." Thyself a state autonomous doth lie Railing at sceptres and yet ruled thereby. The light is pure: man does himself deflect.

JENNY LIND PORTER

THE FORUM editor GERTRUDE EWING

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY to call to the attention of CJ readers the Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South which will be held in Milwaukee on April 2-4, 1959.

Now is a good time to make plans to attend this meeting and to invite colleagues to attend. Transportation services to Milwaukee are excellent, the Local Committee is making provision for the convenience and comfort of everyone, and a good program is assured. The items on the program will reflect the varied interests of the members of CAMWS: one item will be a panelaudience discussion, with the panel composed of school administrators. The complete program will appear in an early spring issue of the Journal.

Let me also recommend to teachers that they seriously consider at this time the invitation appearing among the announcements at the back of this issue: to apply for the Semple Scholarship Grant for study during the summer of 1959 at the American Academy in Rome.

> OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN President. CAMWS

State University of Iowa

JUVENILE MERIT

In the great clamor about juvenile delinquency, it is a pleasure to record an example of the opposite, as shown in the story of Cynthia Thomas, one of a group of Portage Township High School Latin Club members who sent their teacher, Mrs. Ethel Jones, to Rome this summer.

S.M.J.T.R. (Send Mrs. Jones To Rome) was born of two questions: "Mrs. Jones, what is Rome really like?" (the answer to which she confessed she didn't know), and "What gift shall we get for Mrs. Jones this year?" Throw together these two questions, mix well with teen-age imagination, add a dash of enthusiasm, stir with love and respect for a teacher, and you have S.M.J.T.R. None of us really knows the "why"

of S.M.J.T.R. As a matter of fact, we sometimes wonder. Mrs. Jones gives us the most homework and works us harder than any other teacher; yet she commands respect and admiration. As proof, she hasn't changed her way of teaching or the amount of work for us in the slightest, even though she knows of the project. I guess we do know the "why," but we can't define it. It is just a wonderful feeling that could never be fully put into words.

To raise money we dug back in the dusty records to find the names of all of Mrs. Jones' students from all thirtyfive years back. Then for five weeks we made an endless search for the corresponding addresses. Letters were sent to all for whom we found addresses, asking for donations. We received \$900 from these alumni and from people who didn't know Mrs. Jones but heard about the project through the wide-spread publicity we got. and thought it was a wonderful idea. Donations were taken at school concerts and programs, and the F.T.A. sold candy-bars for us and raised \$260. We sold aerosol products for \$100 and sponsored a "saltus soccus" which brought in \$60. The Junior High gave a series of short dramas. the proceeds of which, \$200, went to S.M.J.T.R.

So now our fantastic dream has really come true. There have been some trying moments and a great deal of work, but it was all worth it just to see Mrs. Jones' face at the convocation when we told her of our plan.

CYNTHIA THOMAS

Portage Township H.S. East Gary, Indiana

SPANISH THROUGH LATIN

ROBERT W. HANCOCK, Central High School, Muncie, Indiana, for some time has been experimenting with the teaching of Spanish through Latin in the last few weeks of his second-year Latin classes. Recently he has

developed a workbook, Spanish Through Latin, of a three-weeks course of study. which he uses in his second-year classes. The workbook is written in such a manner that any teacher, inexperienced in Spanish. with the help of a tape recording, could easily use it. The tape, recorded by Professor George Smith of Purdue University. is a complete guide for pronunciation. The basic idea of the workbook is learning to use the twenty-four orthographic changes made in the change of the Latin word to Spanish. This is done by listing Latin words with their meanings, with the students matching the Spanish word to its Latin equivalent. Then the students memorize the Spanish words and learn to use them in conversational patterns. "In three weeks' time," says Mr. Hancock, "Latin pupils not only learn how to make fuller use of their Latin training, but they also learn an ample amount of Spanish conversation. . . . About 30 to 40 per cent of Spanish words found in a typical second-year Spanish text can be recognized by Latin students who have completed three years of Latin, but by learning the twenty-four orthographic changes a third-year Latin student should be able to recognize 80 to 90 per cent of these Spanish words."

A SECONDARY GREEK PROGRAM

The writer would welcome comments and suggestions from interested readers.

Boys coming to the Saint Louis Priory School as freshmen are bound to take among their other subjects, Latin and either Spanish or French, and they are invited to take Greek. Those who accept the invitation are then sifted, as there is no good purpose served in a boy starting Greek as well as Latin and a modern language unless he has distinct linguistic ability. But if he has, then he will find that Greek, far from being an additional burden, is in fact helped by, and is a help to, his learning of the other languages.

The first year of Greek covers the basic grammar, although without the principal parts of the irregular verbs, and gives the boys a fair amount of practice in reading simple Greek. The textbook used is Elementary Greek Translation Book (Hillard and Botting), published by Rivington's, London. It contains a series of pieces describing the highlights of Greek history, with a special vocabulary for each piece and a general vocabulary at the back. There is

also a rather good simple grammar. No textbook is perfect but this has been quite satisfactory and costs about \$1.00.

The principal operation of the second year is to read Xenophon. Hand in hand with this goes attention to the principal parts of the irregular verbs and to the various constructions, but most of the practice in these comes from the reading itself. The text used was the first four books of the Anabasis, edited by Kelsey and Zenos (Allyn & Bacon). The notes in this are not really satisfactory, the vocabulary provided is too elaborate, and the printing rather moderate. If we cannot find a better text here, I shall probably use an English text, of which there are quite a number, in future years.

The program for the third and fourth year's Greek has not been subjected to trial by experience, but it will consist principally of reading. I had hoped to be able to start perhaps with Plato's Apology, and to cover in the course of the two years as many as possible of the following: something of the Greek orators Lysias or Demosthenes, and at least one Greek tragedy. Two strong candidates would be Aeschylus' Agamemnon or Sophocles' Oedipus Rex. One of the problems is how much Homer to read and what. It is probably a mistake to start with Homer rather than the Attic Greek, as it is easier to read Homer having learned Attic Greek than vice versa. I would also enjoy reading some Herodotus, and boys are apt to enjoy this too, once they get used to the dialect. There is no difficulty about adding other things to read if this proves too little, but I fear there is not much danger of that.

As will be seen, the principal stress in this course is on reading, but this does not mean that grammar and syntax are neglected or guessed at. The first thing demanded in translation is accuracy rather than speed because, once accuracy has been achieved, speed will probably follow, but not the other way round.

Greek history occurs currently in the history course of the freshman year and is not taught again as a subject of its own. A certain amount is necessarily bound up with the reading, but it may be found necessary to devote one period or more a week explicitly to Greek history and civilization in the succeeding years.

I should be very glad to hear anyone's views on this course, since it is a drastic modification of what is commonly taught in England, and has yet to be put into effect. I feel no doubt that Greek has a great deal to offer to American education, and I believe

that the revival of interest in modern languages will entail a more wide-spread interest in the classical languages which lie at their roots.

TIMOTHY HORNER, O.S.B.

Saint Louis Priory School Creve Coeur, Missouri

WELCOME TO NORTH CAROLINA CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

NORTH CAROLINA classicists will meet in Chapel Hill, October 31 and November 1, to form the North Carolina Classical Association, for the promotion of classical studies in that state, and for greater association among secondary school and college teachers, and other supporters of the Classics. CAMWS and CJ extend their hearty best wishes for the success of this youngest sister and ally.

SCIENTIFIC LATIN

Excerpts from a paper presented at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, 1957

Have you ever thought of including in your Latin course a unit concerned with pharmacy or anatomy? Or even of encouraging some superior students who have special interests in these fields to do some independent or project work which they might share with the class? Oh, I know there are always so many necessary matters to be covered, you haven't time to take on another thing, etc., etc. But maybe that eager student could do a really worthwhile piece of work. Why not give him an opportunity?

My experience in this field stems from teaching in Alton, Illinois, Senior High School, two courses of one semester each in Pharmaceutical Latin and Anatomical Latin, with full accreditation by the University of Illinois. They usually constituted a third or fourth year of Latin for the student, though they were open to those who were in their fourth semester of Latin. We began with Dorfman's Pharmaceutical Latin and found that it made a good semester course. Separate individual projects, not too difficult in nature, might be drawn from its very helpful lists of terms used in prescription writing — phrases pertaining to time, phar

maceutical preparations, parts of the body, directions, weights and measures, etc. Special study too might be made of prefixes and suffixes, not only the common ones regularly met in the study of Latin but others such as anti-, hypo-, toxi-, -osis, -itis, etc. Before he realizes it, the student is involved in the Greek language, and he will surely use all the knowledge that he gains of it in both pharmacy and anatomy.

Any good anatomy textbook will offer ideas for similar projects, though we did use (at the suggestion of a local school of nursing) Anthony's Textbook of Anatomy and Physiology. The body systems might be a good starting point for exploration in this field, and perhaps the more or less familiar skeletal system first of all. These can be broken down into smaller units, as outlines or tables in the text suggest. Other possible units might be the skin structure, membranes, tissues, cavities, directional terms used in describing the body, etc.

It was always our aim to learn as much as possible about the words we met - their origin (so often from the Latin or Greek). their meanings, their use in the building of other words. Our search led to reference books and dictionaries - Latin, Greek, English, and medical. In connection with drugs and other materials, we were concerned not only with their names but also their properties and uses. Hence we learned such terms as "astringent," "demulcent," "diaphoretic," "emollient," "stimulant," "sedative" - many of which were wholly foreign to the vocabulary of high-school students. We kept a file of our findings, and had it at hand for ready reference. Outlines were developed for class study. Many useful posters were made by the more ambitious students. And the gratitude expressed by those who later entered schools of nursing or medicine was rewarding to their teacher and the best advertising for the classical languages - so alive in this particular field.

ANNA GOLDSBERRY

Richwood Community High School Peoria, Illinois

JUNIOR CLASSICAL LEAGUE

A message from the new chairman of the National Junior Classical League:

THE JUNIOR CLASSICAL LEAGUE is certainly one teen-age activity which gets — and deserves — wholehearted respect the nation

over. J.C.L. has grown with such amazing speed the past few years that it is, today, the largest classical organization in the world. Undoubtedly it has been an important factor in the remarkable increase in Latin pupils. Those die-hards who were nodding sadly and mourning, "Latin is dead! Woe is me! There is no interest in the Classics!" are hard to find and recognize now. They have brushed the cobwebs off their imagination, loosened the bands on their enthusiasm, and happily worked their way to the front ranks of those who have found J.C.L. good.

There are teachers, certainly, who can make Latin live without a social program as background. Competition is the keynote of this atomic age, however, and the class room is no exception. If there is to be education in the Classics - no matter how worthwhile it is acknowledged to be - it must compete with athletics, music, athletics, economics, athletics. Latin must be displayed - and sold - with the same care and thoughtful handling given fine merchandise. A child needs encouragement to enroll for a course which will require considerable study; he needs aid in fighting the opposition of those who taunt with "Nobody speaks Latin anymore!"

J.C.L. is a valuable means of attracting customers; it is the frosting which calls attention to the good nourishing cake underneath. It may be bait, but it is guaranteed.

Some teachers fear the work J.C.L. may cause. Those who use it wisely - remember, J.C.L. is a means, not an end - know this is no drawback. The time required pays off in interest, enthusiasm, fellowship and pride far in excess of the effort expended.

The Junior Classical League is here to stay. It is a force to reckon with, and deserves consideration - and a trial - by every wide-awake person who is sincerely interested in giving or acquiring education in the Classics.

BELLE GOULD

Henderson, Texas

LATIN ENRICHES THE THIRD GRADE

I BEGAN TEACHING Latin several years ago with a rhythm called "Yankee Doodle." My third-grade class was learning this song and dance. After it had been mastered, I asked the class if they would like to learn the same song in a foreign language. Much interest was aroused.

After the students learned about Latin

as a foreign language, a unit on modern Italy was developed. The most profitable question asked was, "If we could visit modern Italy, what could we learn that would be of very valuable interest?" Encyclopedias were used and I gathered books from the public library. The globe was used extensively. Roman myths were read.

As the unit progressed, the class learned "Jacobolus Horner" (Little Jack Horner) and "Io! Io! Turba Adest" (Look! Look! The Class Is Here!). The class had a unique fascination as they learned the three songs in Latin. The children enjoyed listening to themselves on the tape recorder. I believe that ten years from now the children will

still know these songs.

In learning the words of the songs the children compared the Latin words to the English words and thereby acquired the idea that many English words and phrases root from Latin. Such common phrases as "Tempus Fugit," "Semper Fidelis," and "E Pluribus Unum" were discussed. The motto on the Great Seal of Kansas, "Ad Astra per Aspera" also was introduced.

As a culminating activity several years ago my third grade sang "Yankee Doodle" in Latin at a Brotherhood Tea given by our Parent Teacher Association, and dressed in native costumes. A skit was built around four famous cities in Italy (Rome, Pompeii,

Venice, and Naples).

This year as an activity of my grades three and four combined, the class sang the three songs at our Adult Education Class. A skit was built around each song. The parents present expressed their opinion of the presentation, and each criticism was constructive.

EVA B. WALLER

Stowe School Kansas City, Kansas

RESOLUTION TO CONGRESS

As a delegate from the Southern Section of CAMWS to the Southern Humanities Conference, Lloyd Stow, Vanderbilt University, has sent in the following report of action taken by the delegates of the learned societies composing the Conference.

AT THE FINAL SESSION of its Eleventh Annual Meeting, held March 29, 1958 at the University of Tenne ee, Knoxville, the Southern Humanities Cenference, a council of fifteen Southern learn d societies with a combined membership of approximately 7,500 college and university presidents, deans, and professors of the humanities disciplines, voted to address the following resolution to the members of Congress currently concerned with studying and evaluating the Senate bills offered by Senators Flanders, Hill, and Smith to strengthen education in the United States

It was the intent of the Conference not to set forth a critical analysis of the many details featured in each bill—some of which it would heartily endorse, while doubting the wisdom of others—but rather to confine its statement to the most vital broad principles affected by these bills.

"Be it resolved, that the Southern Humanities Conference approves those aspects of Senate Bills S3156, S3157, S3163, S3187, and S3352, currently before the Congress, which call for enlarged emphasis in our schools upon the natural sciences and mathematics, and at the same time urges that the preservation of our civilization depends upon equally enlarged emphasis on the social sciences and the humanities.

"Be it further resolved that the Southern Humanities Conference commends the intent of these bills to recognize the utilitarian value of foreign language study, but urges that it is equally in the national interest to promote the study of foreign languages and their literatures, both ancient and modern, as fundamental to liberal education and to the development of international and intercultural understanding.

"The Southern Humanities Conference strongly urges provision for scholarships for students who show exceptional aptitudes in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities, with equal consideration for all these disciplines and with equal consideration for all students regardless of financial need."

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LATIN CLUB

MISS ANNE GOLDSBERRY'S experiment at Alton, Illinois — working with a grade school Latin Club — has always intrigued me. When our Senior High School Latin Club asked the principal of the nearest grade school what he thought of the idea of having some of our members and the sponsor come to his building after school to conduct a Junior Latin Club, he seemed delighted and said we could start with an above-average fifthgrade class as a nucleus. The club members at Longfellow and the four girls who went with me decided on the second and fourth

Wednesday afternoons from 3:15 to 4:15 as our meeting time.

We began with teaching the members to count so they'd have some Latin to take home the very first day. It was interesting to hear them as they straggled across the school yard on their way home: "unus, duo, tres, quattuor, quinque" — "No, it's 'queen-,' not 'quin-!" and so on — half a dozen talking Latin at once.

We presented the Lord's Prayer and the Pledge to the Flag — but the Pater Noster seemed too much for most of them to remember. We didn't have enough time to repeat it together.

They liked learning greetings: "Salve, magister," "Salve, magistra," "Salve, mater," "Salvete, discipuli," "Salvete, amicae," along with "Valete," "Tibi gratias ago" and some other miscellaneous phrases which they could toss about to their friends and the homefolks to show off their superior learning!

They really loved the songs: the ubiquitous and ever-lovely "Adeste, Fideles" at Christmas time; "Te Cano Patria"; the counting song to the tune of "Ten Little Indians"; "Caesar Habet Unam Legionem"; "Nonne Dormis, Frater Mi?"; "Hail, Hail the Gang's All Here"; and others which I know gave them a chance to say Latin without self-consciousness.

I read or told to them stories of mythology from Famous Myths of the Golden Age, retold by Beatrice Alexander, published by Random House, New York. It is written on the middle-grades level, and certainly fascinated these youngsters. One reading teacher capitalized on this interest by having them give a dramatization of the story of Persephone.

The four girls who went to Longfellow with me would take small groups and even practice with individuals after we'd presented a new song or new greetings, etc. They were such a help because their very obvious surprise at how much children can learn was a definite tonic to these middle-graders.

These boys and girls didn't learn so much, but how much interest has been aroused can hardly be measured. I walked out of our building one day during spring vacation, to be greeted by one of the group of small fry playing on the lawn, with "Hey, kids, here's Latin!" Yes, you've guessed it—he was one of our Longfellow Latineers!

EILEEN JOHNSON

Anderson Senior High School Anderson, Indiana

CARMEN FERIALE

Fabula notissima sub titulis Christmas Carol a Carolo Dickens anglice composita atque in linguam Latinam liberius traducta et ad scaenam a VAN L. JOHNSON breviter redacta

Dramatis Personae

Narrator fabulae

Nepos Scelionis Umbra Mangonis mortui

Scelio, improbus negotiator Larva prima

Scriba macellus Larva secunda Patronus benevolus Larva tertia

ACTUS I

NARRATOR. Mango occidit. Mango quidem mortuus est. Quis dubitavit? Minime Scelio improbus qui iam pridem Mangonem sepelivit, Mangonis testamentum ipse signavit, Mangonis pecuniam heres possedit. Nempe mortuus Mango est cui Scelio parum dolens inferias haudquaquam maestas parce ac duriter dedit. Quin etiam die Mangonis fatali Scelio ad mercatus dicitur abisse, nam acervus carior quam acervi consors fuit. Quippe parcus, frugi, tenax, saevus, tristis, truculentus, mordax erat Scelio, Mortui nomen nihilominus mansit foribus inscriptum officinae exilis qua Scelio vultu rigido, corde frigido nummas numerabat adjuvante scriba macello, cum subito ad senem severum feriatus feriarum tempore nepos hilare et laetius irrupit. Nepos. Ferias laetas, avuncule! Di servent!

Scello. Ei! Nugas!

NEPOS. Num vis ferias esse nugales? Scello. Sane volo. Ferias laetas! Qua ratione, qua de causa laetaris? Es plane pauper. NEPOS. Agedum, quid tu maeres? Es plane dives.

Scelio. Ei! Nugas!

Nepos. Amabo, ne saevias!

Scello. Quidni saeviam? Stultorum sunt omnia plena. Ferias laetas! Feriatus mihi coquatur una cum cena tosta!

Nepos. Avuncule!

Scello. Nepos, ferias qualibet agas! Tibi maxime prosit! Tibi profuit numquam.

Nepos. Fortasse nihil prodest, sed sacris faciundis mites, misericordes, lenes, placidos, clementes nos esse oportet omnes.

SCRIBA. Euge!

Scello. (dicens Scribae) Tace, nebulo, si mercedem operae optas. (dicens Nepoti) Grandia dicis, nepos; tibi ad rostra eundum est!

Nepos. Avuncule, velim ad cenam venias cras.

Scelio. Vale.

Nepos. Nihil quaero, nihil desidero, nihil appeto —

Scelio. Vale.

NEPOS. Tui vero consili me valde piget, sed hilari animo esse non cessabo. Vale, avuncule! Ferias laetas! (Exit NEPOS. SCRIBA ad fores cum eo accedit.) SCELIO. Nugas!

SCRIBA. (susurrans) Ferias laetas, optime! (Tum videns Patronum advenientem Scelloni nuntiat.) Adest aliquis ut tete consulat.

Scelio. Eum deducas.

PATRONUS. (legens titulum foribus inscriptum) Scelio et Mango, negotiatores. Tete Mangonem an Scelionem appellem?

Scello. Septem ante annos occidit Mango.

PATRONUS. Confido igitur consortem eius esse parem liberalitate. Hoc quidem tempore feriarum maxime decet ingenio esse liberali et beneficia large conferre ad pauperes qui graviora nunc patiantur. Quanta donabis, domine?

Scelio. Nihil!

PATRONUS. Sed tamen permulti fame ac morbo morientur, nisi nos omnes parabimus miseris pauxillum cibi et panis.

Scelio. Ergo moriantur! Pauperes mihi non curae sunt. Equidem propriis conficior negotiis. Vale, patrone! (Exit Patronus. Post breve silentium Scelio Scribae dicit.) Cras ferias ages, opinor. Scilicet totum diem ita consumes.

SCRIBA. Si commodum -

Scello. Edepol neque commodum neque aequum est suscipere nihil laboris nummis acceptis. Sis tamen cras otiosus, ac postridie huc ades prima luce!

ACTUS II

NARRATOR. Itaque scriba macellus vespere domum redivit atque rebus in artis horas iucundas cum suis carissimis agebat. Scelio autem frugaliter cenatus se contulit ad cenaculum sordidum et bucca foculum rugosa excitabat. Tenebras inter opacas dormitat senex, etenim preti nullius sunt tenebrae, id quod Scelioni placet. Ad igniculum porrigens manus vultus Mangonis (mirabile dictu) macie confectos in flammis incredulus aspicit: "Nugas!" inquit Scelio. Tum catenarum crepitus tractarum potest audiri, et iterum "Nugas" dictitat Scelio. Ecce apparet simulacrum Mangonis mortui catenas quatiens et dira minitans Scelioni "Nugas" clamanti.

Scello. Quid flagitas, imago lurida?

Mango. Multa!

Scello. Quisnam igitur es?

Mango. Quis fuerim roges.

Scello. Quis ergo fuisti? Argute respondes ut umbra.

Mango. Vixi Mango consors tui fidelis. Nonne mi credis?

Scello. Immo, fidem sensibus non usus confirmat quibus pauxillum inficiat. Fieri potest ut sis modo esca vel lactis pressi vel carnis incocti.

Mango. (quatiens catenas) Sceleste, mi fidem addas!

Scello. Eheu, necesse est! Cur memet horride sollicitas? Cur istas geris catenas?

Mango. Quas vero gravissimas sceleribus meis contextas perenne impius gero per inania vagans. Tu quoque peccatis iam dudum impeditus tuis criminibus damnaris eisdem, ni culpae te paenitet tuae.

Scello. Quid faciam, Mango? Me saltem adiuves.

Manco. Aderunt prope tres singillatim Manes qui te admoneant salutis.

Scello. Equidem omnes simul vellem adesse.

Mango. Primam exspectes larvam media nocte—(vanescens) vale, amice—cave obtemperes illi—(Exit Mango.) Scello. (mussans) Abscede istuc qualecumque somnium est. Somniabam

lecumque somnium est. Somniabam certe. Aegrotus paulisper eram. (circumspiciens) Nihil vero mirum adest. Nugas! (Sensim apparet Larva Prima.) Heus, quid illinc se suscitat?

LARVA PRIMA. Aspice larvam praeteritorum tuorum!

Scello. Quid enim cupis?

Larva Prima. Tibi res fero secundas. Scelio. Nugas!

LARVA PRIMA. Nimirum salutem ostendo. Surge, Scelio, et mecum vagare! (Se movet ad fenestram.)

Scello. At ego mortalis sum et natura caducus!

LARVA PRIMA. Ne horrescas! Te ilicet manu sustento. (demonstrans) Nonne cognoscis, Scelio, vicum viamque et rura paterna ubi pueri complures "ferias laetas" hilariter conclamant? Viden unum ex eis qui ludere nolit sed sedeat solus in penetralibus aulae?

Scelio. Etenim ego solus -

LARVA PRIMA. En amplectitur fratrem illa parvola quae postea mater fiebat tui nepotis. Iam pridem mortua est.

Scello. Vae misero mihi!

Larva Prima. Ecce tirocinium qua feriarum tempore omnes faciunt iocosa dum senex etiam anusque opipare cenati cum mulieribus tironibusque saltant!

Scelio. Novi bene hominem iocosum et tirones e quibus hercle ego unus fui. Larva Prima. Tuere istanc virginem pulcherrimam quae propter tuam avaritiam se tibi nubere negavit.

Scello. Ne plura monstres, larva, vehementius quaeso! Ne acriter torqueas mentem! (Larva Prima vanescit.) Eia, vigilans dormio! Vera an falsa imago praebita est? Sed porro apparet altera larva opibus cincta et copiis festivis. (Adit Larva Secunda.)

Larva Secunda. Ecce adsum larva praesentium. Viden mea dona amplissima? Large effundo.

Scello. Immo gratias. Malim med adducas ut ostentes quaecumque debeam videre. Permulta didici.

LARVA SECUNDA. Deinde vade mecum! (iens ad fenestram) Inspiciamus illanc tuae scribae villam. Pauper in pauperrimo tugurio ferias agit laetissimas. Ovantes ipse suique ansere pingui et

dapibus parce instructis libenter vescuntur. Alius alii pocula Bacchi libat, sed te iracunde exsecrans uxor calicem tibi propinare recusat.

Scello. Heu me exsecratum!

LARVA SECUNDA. Ac parvolus etiam pedibus clausus utrisque et morbo aegerrimus gravi vultum gerit hilarem. Scelio. Quousque parvolus vivet?

Larva Secunda. Sellam vero vacantem et baculum frustra servatum prospicere videor mihi.

Scello. Immo melius vivat!

Larva Secunda. Quidni moriatur? Pauperes tibi non curae sunt.

Scello. Eheu incallide dictum!

Larva Secunda. Nunc animadvertas licenter gratissimas sedes nepotis qui cum familiaribus epulas apparate congestas comedit. Te sponte arcessivit.

Scello. Etiamvero memini recte, Convivae maxima cachinnant voce, Quid ille cachinnus vult?

LARVA SECUNDA. Te "nugas, nugas" dictitantem irrident aperte.

Scello. Peccavi vero. Sed extemplo fiunt maesto graviores aspectu.

LARVA SECUNDA. Tui ultro miseret omnes.

Scelio. Me miserum! O dictum amare! (Larva evanescere coepit.) Respicias, larva benigna, revertere! Obsecto ne solum relinquas me! (Discessit iam Larva Secunda.) Turbida eo mente obviam ultimae larvae. (Apparet Larva forma Tertia ingenti.) O temporis larva futuri, te magis vereor quam alias priores. Sis faustus!

LARVA TERTIA. Homuncule, fave lingua! Perge obmutescens! (Scelionem ad fenestram adducit.) Aliquis mortuus est tam sceleratus ut nemo exsequias eat illius. Nemo eius casum luctuose dolet. Nemo de illo miserrimo lugubre lacrimat. Contra maxime gaudent etiam familiares quod tandem ille nequissimus in Tartara foeda descendit. Quin etiam iocantur de moribus mortui. Cadaver sui inquinatum incuria contemnunt. Bona amplissima senis cito eripiunt servi.

Scello. O crudeliter factum! Quis tam misere diem obiit fatalem?

LARVA TERTIA. Tacedum, tute ad bustum oculos adice! Lege sepulcra!

Scelo. Sepulcris exigue inscribitur "Marcus Impius Scelio"! Nomen expungas! Turpia aufer! Opera me adiuves non eundem ac olim! Sospita, larva! (Larva Tertia vanescit.) Ubinam es? Ubinam sum? In cubiculo meo! O feliciter factum! Mens sana in corpore sano mihi servatur. O Lemures laudentur nocturni! Nunc demum animus mihi integre mutatur. O species diei gratissima! Ferias laetas! Ferias omnibus laetas! (Exit Scelio.)

NARRATOR. Sic morte et culpa redemptus Scelio est qui mox fiebat inclitissimus et probitate et humanitate et clementia. Quotiens hilariter cenabat cum nepote! Quanta pauperibus donavit! Misello quidem scribae auxerat stipendia ac parvoli angorem cura et impensa sublevavit. Semper ferias religiosius agebat atque tum laetitia et voluptate gestiebat stridula vociferatus voce haudquaquam "nugas" sed ab imo corde "ferias omnibus laetas!"

Finis

Reprints of this dramatic version by Prof. Johnson, of Tufts University, are available from the American Classical League, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Price, fifteen cents each.

HORACE, ODES 1. 11

It is not right, Leuconoë,
To know what things the gods decree,
What end for you, what end for me —
Please put your astral charts away,
And take our winters as they come,
And let Jove reckon up the sum.
This year, which sees the breakers drum
On broken cliffs before us, may
Be our last year. While we converse,
Age hurries on; put off her curse!
In life's clear dregless wine immerse
Your heart, throw spun-out hopes away,
Don't trust Tomorrow; clutch today.

DOROTHEA M. SCHMIDT

University of Minnesota

OVID'S PYTHAGOREAN ESSAY

ROY ARTHUR SWANSON

N THE CREATION SEQUENCE of Ovid's Metamorphoses (Book 1) the disposition of the four elements is followed by the evolution of living forms: this in turn is followed by the definition of time inherent in the four ages and the four seasons of the Silver Age. The order of this presentation - elements, living forms, time-is reversed in the central panel of his Pythagorean essay in Book 15: lines 176-213 have to do with time (night, day, and the seasons); 214-36 with living forms and the change wrought upon them by old age; and 237-51 with the elements (earth, air, fire and water). The pattern of Homeric hysteron-proteron in the first and last books of the work is hardly accidental. It is not so immediately obvious as the pattern in the debate of Book 13, where Ajax alludes in detail to Philoctetes, Palamedes, and Diomedes and is answered by Ulysses, who takes up the names in reverse order. But it is discernible. These subjects in Book 15 not only reflect those in Book 1, but both collocations are also in moral contexts: the creation sequence leads up to the deterioration of human morals outlined by the four ages; the Pythagorean essay includes an exhortation to abide by a moral code.

I should like briefly to examine this essay and its code, not as a problem in philosophy, but as one in literary criticism. To do so will not only readily eliminate attention to the controversy

as to what constitutes Pythagorean philosophy, but will also, it seems to me, place the essay in its proper field of question, namely literature. To confirm the existence of the controversy we need only note that Mr. Hobart Huson, who compiled a Pythagoron,1 is "inclined to agree with Dacier and others that Pythagoras did not teach and could not have taught such doctrines" as reincarnation and transmigration; therefore, he omits from his work "all supposed teachings on these subjects," including, of course, those set forth in Ovid's fifteenth book. Miss Mary M. Innes, on the other hand, accepts metempsychosis as "the main doctrine of the Pythagoreans." Her remarks on this subject, included in the introduction to her translation of the Metamorphoses,2 are indicative of the direction I should like to take at this point. She writes:

The long speech of Pythagoras in the fifteenth book may be taken to be Ovid's answer to philosophical poetry, challenging the Epicurean philosophy of Lucretius, but it has a rather subtle application to the theme of the Metamorphoses itself. The main doctrine of the Pythagoreans, metempsychosis, taught that the soul migrated from one body to another, even from humans into animals, and this might seem to lend a kind of justification to the transformations that Ovid has been describing in the previous books. This idea is never made explicit; stress is laid not so much on the transmigration of souls, as on the vegetarianism that it entails.

Aside, then, from what must remain idle questions of Ovid's philosophical grasp or capability in Pythagorean compendium, let us ask if the essay fits into the total work or if it merely contributes to the tedium and miscellany that so many students and some teachers are inclined to ascribe to the last four books. And, by all means, let us investigate the "subtle application" of the long speech "to the theme of the Metamorphoses."

Morality is in Book 15 the subject of a preachment. In Book 1 morality is the subject of narrative observation. Ovid's consideration of morality, particularly with respect to good and evil, is progressively developed, after the section on the flood, throughout the work. Man's initial moral deterioration in Book 1 is swift. His moral ascent through the remaining books is slow, relapsible and studied. Man, created divino semine, rapidly loses his divine qualities. Man, recreated of Deucalionic and Pyrrhaic stones, eventually attains to divine quality by way of apotheosis. Ovid's morality theme is, moreover, closely allied to the major theme of the Metamorphoses, change or variation. The Pythagorean essay serves efficaciously to identify these themes or cause them to coalesce.

One of the specific doctrines which he assigns to Pythagoras is recognition of universal change. Having observed metamorphoses in fourteen books, Ovid in the fifteenth expatiates philosophically on change. The expatiation is, of course, a matter of emphasis, not of dialectic. At this same juncture the concomitant observation of morals graduates into an emphatic preachment: (1) accept the universality of change and all the implications of animate reincarnation; (2) abstain from meat. Ovid's reasons for this abstention are summed up in the following five lines (88-90 and 141-42):

. . . quantum scelus est in viscere viscera condi

Congestoque avidum pinguescere corpore corpus

Alteriusque animantem animantis vivere leto! Cumque boum dabitis caesorum membra palato, Mandere vos vestros scite et sentite colonos!

The exhortation to vegetarianism is hardly logical. A doctrine of abstention from meat in view of reincarnative relationships should logically be followed by a code of human relationship with respect to vegetable and mineral matter, since the preceding books abound in changes of humans to trees, stones, etc. But Ovid limits his prohibition to human consumption of other mammals, that is, to the area of simple vegetarianism. Logic is not the aim of the poetic mythographer. Ovid is no more concerned with the logical than he is with the chronological. The perpetuum carmen moves from the creation to the poet's time through sequences, not of time, but of change. The episodes both illustrate change and echo it in themselves suffering change by virtue of skilful transition. And change is Ovid's overriding universal-change itself, from which Time is merely a convenient deduction and against which morality can be measured. Vegetarianism, then, is a moral recognition of universal variation, a form of moral tithe. In this way the themes of morality and change are resolved, with the major theme, change, remaining paramount and absorbing the minor theme, morality. The resolution is artistic; and Ovid is an artist.

The suggestion I should not want to make is that Ovid is a moralist. But if we define morality as "the quality of that which conforms to right ideals or principles of human conduct," then we must admit that not only Book 1 and Book 15 but indeed much of the entire Metamorphoses provides moral context.

Here are the main elements of this context, which, remember, is thematic rather than thetic: in Book 2 the presumption of Phaethon and the deceit of Battus do not coincide with right human conduct. Toward deity, which conventionally is immune to moral codification, humans should be properly

humble. The resistance to Bacchus on the part of Pentheus and the Minvades in Books 3 and 4 is non-humility: likewise the presumption of the Pierides, who challenge the Muses in Book 5, and Arachne, who challenges Minerva in Book 6, along with Niobe and the Lycian peasants, who scorn Latona. Thus far, human failings reassert themselves and persist after the punitive flood, but they are never manifested to the degree exemplified by Lycaon. In Book 7 the evils of Medea give rise to and are contrasted with the good works of Theseus. But in Book 8, which incidentally presents in Baucis and Philemon a veritable standard of right conduct, Theseus suffers a relapse. Where Theseus ultimately fails, Hercules, in Book 9, brilliantly succeeds, overcoming his mortal clay and enjoying apotheosis. In Book 9 as well, the virtues of Iolaus and Iphis are contrasted with the sins of Byblis. Book 10 is a study in moral contrasts. The figures of Ganymede and Hyacinthus are moral exemplars, those of the Cyprian horned girls and the Propoetides just the opposite. The good Pygmalion and Galatea are then contrasted in their bliss with the immoral scene of Myrrha and Cinyras. Finally we are shown the fierce punishment visited upon Atalanta and Hippomenes by Venus and the sad but tender fate of Adonis: in each instance Venus failed to receive full and absolutely proper respect. In Book 11 the Maenads and Midas are divinely punished for improper conduct. The exploits of Achilles in Book 12 are further examples of right conduct. Books 13 and 14 present the supreme model of Roman morality in Aeneas, and the apotheosis of this hero is chiastically balanced with that of Romulus. (That is to say, between these apotheoses are sections dealing with the history of Rome; between the history sections are two portions of the Pomona and Vertumnus tale, which tale is unobtrusively interrupted by the story of Iphis and Anaxarete.)

The chiastic sequence is one of the

major compositional features of the Metamorphoses. Such a sequence consists normally of systematic digressions. Topic A (e.g., apotheosis) will be followed by a digression, topic B (e.g., Roman history). A second digression, topic C (e.g., Pomona and Vertumnus), may be followed by yet a third, topic D (e.g., Iphis and Anaxarete). D, forming a central panel in this triptych, will be followed by reversions to C, B and A. The sequence becomes more involved as its number of topics increases. The suitability of this conventional feature to the Metamorphoses is striking: Ovid's major theme is change; in the Pythagorean essay change bodes reappearance; in chiastic sequences topics change and reappear. Their reappearance in reverse variation provides the composition with balance - classical balance, we might say - and order. Order is equally apparent in the metamorphoses themselves. Each change is suited to the conduct of the agent involved insofar as the agent is the cause of his change: to this end the agent wants or in some way deserves his metamorphosis. Etiological changes, such as the color of mulberries, Ethiopians, or crows, reflect order insofar as they outline cause and effect. Here again, the Pythagorean essay preaches the universality of this order. And the preachment itself is, characteristically, in chiastic sequence.

The sequence takes this form: the essay is, first of all, skilfully sandwiched in between sections on King Numa (1-59, 479-96). The essay proper opens and closes with sections on vegetarian ideals (75-142, 453-78). Chiastically balanced between these sections are parallel sections on life, the first treating of reincarnation (143-75) and the second of spontaneous generation, regeneration and natural adaptability (252-452). The central panel of this sequence is, to repeat, that which occupied our attention at the beginning of this paper, the time-living forms-elements progression (176-251)

reflecting the elements-living formstime progression in Book 1.

I find it difficult not to admit an Ovidian concern with such schematization as I have outlined. Since it is observable in the work, it seems to me best to conclude that Ovid, whom we know to have been highly conscious of artistry, deliberately contrived its presence. If the observation must take the form of critical analysis, it is doubtless because ars adeo latet arte sua (10, 252). The Pythagorean essay most certainly fits into the total work and is much more than a miscellaneous and superficial philosophical flourish. We are prepared for the conclusions it draws because we have

observed in the preceding books the experiences and events upon which those conclusions are based. The experiences and events are the interstices of a construction in morality and change. And Ovid's identification of morality and change informs an essay which, while possibly superficial, if not inane, to the philosophical mind, is decidedly integral, functional, and appropriate where literary construction is at issue.

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NOTES

¹ Pythagoron, edited and reconstructed (San Antonio, 1947/48).

² (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1955) p. 17.



HORACE, ODES 1, 22

The man of honor, free of guilty deeds, Requires no blackman's darts or bow; he needs No stock of toxic arrows to defend him, Whether you send him To Syrtis, with its sweating savage race, Or Caucasus, a wild, unfriendly place, Or Eastern regions, where (the legend goes) Hydaspes flows.

I came upon a wolf, the other day,
As through the Sabine wood I made my way
Singing of Lalage, unarmed, unworried,
And off he scurried.
That wolf was huge, more rightly to be feared
Than any beast rough Daunia has reared,
Or any monster bred in Juba's home
Where lions roam.

So put me on some barren northern plain Where summer breezes never blow, where rain And chilly fog and evil gusts may rend me, Or you may send me
To lands where humans dare not live, for fear Of Sol's bright car, which circles much too near: In Lalage's sweet smile I will rejoice — In her sweet voice.

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THE FOUNDATION LEGENDS IN VERGIL

JOHN A. BRINKMAN, S.J.

ONE of VERGIL's main purposes in writing the Aeneid was to recount the prehistorical foundations of Rome. The narrative in his poem was intended to serve as a link between the Trojans of the heroic age and the beginnings of imperial Rome. Vergil himself did not invent this account, although he did embellish it with the addition of many minor characters and events. In the main, he relied upon the traditional legends accepted at Rome in his day.

The purpose of this article will be threefold. After reviewing briefly the legend of the foundation of Rome as told by Vergil, we shall examine the genesis and growth of the legend before Vergil's time, the traditions and sources from which he drew. Finally, we are going to delve into the historical validity of the legend, to see what archeology actually tells us of the foundation of Rome and how closely the legend fits these facts. In brief, we want to see the legend, its source and its truth.

IF WE WANTED to put Vergil's story of the foundation of Rome in skeletal form, we could do no better than to refer to Jupiter's prediction to Venus in Book 1 of the Aeneid (264-77). Here the "father of the gods" resolves the story of the origins of Rome into three main divisions: (1) Aeneas, a Trojan prince, comes to Latium after the fall of Troy and, after three years of battle, founds a settlement there (Lavinium); (2) thirty years later, Ascanius, his son, leads a colony from Lavinium and founds Alba Longa; (3) three hundred years after this, Romulus, a descendant of Ascanius, founds Rome itself.

Although the figure of 333 years from Aeneas' coming until the actual foundation of Rome is arbitrary and purely Vergilian in character,1 most learned Romans of the Augustan age would have been willing to subscribe to the essentials of this story. In earlier days, the role of Ascanius as founder of Alba Longa was not universally accepted.2 But, with the ascendancy of the house of Caesar, who had adopted Ascanius for their ancestor, this tradition was more firmly established. However, even with this development, the figure of Ascanius never assumed such proportions as Aeneas and Romulus. He always remained a kind of honorary participant in the early Trojan activity in Italy, furnishing an historical pedigree for the imperial house, but little else.

Consequently, it is with the other two men, Aeneas and Romulus, that we shall be chiefly concerned. They form the core of the traditional legends. The founder of the Trojan-Latin dynasty and the first real "Roman" are the principal figures around whom the many old stories were woven. They symbolize the highly desirable anti-

quity and nobility of ancestry and the martial character of the city's first foundations.

THE AENEAS and the Romulus legends did not always form one organic whole. Rather they originated as independent attempts to explain the same fact—the founding of Rome. The older Romulus legend was basically a Latin account, while the Aeneas version had its source in the writings of the Greek poets. For this reason, we shall consider the legends separately at first and then show their fusion in the early epic chroniclers of Rome.

The history of the Romulus legend is deduced chiefly from definitely dated artifacts and from comments offered on the subject by later writers such as Servius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. These sources are scanty, but they enable us to establish at least some definite pattern in the growth of

the legend.

Beginning as far back as the fifth century in Rome (and perhaps even earlier), the founding of the city was ascribed vaguely to an eponymous Romulus.5 Around this central figure grew up a wealth of tales which strove to invest him with an heroic significance. He was the son of Mars, the tutelary deity of Rome. An unwanted child, born out of wedlock, he was cast upon the Tiber; but a provident and kindly fate rescued him — directing the river to place him ashore, a shewolf to give him suck, and a shepherd to raise him to manhood; all this done by the site of his future city.

Likewise in the fifth century, Greek writers like Agathocles of Cyzicum were also attributing the foundation of the young Italian city to an eponymous character; but his name was given as Rhomos. By the fourth century, the Latin Romulus had joined Rhomos in Greek letters, but not as his brother; he was instead depicted as his grandfather. By the third century, Rhomos had disappeared; and a new character had taken his place:

Remus, the twin brother of Romulus.6

By the year 296 B.C., the story of the twins had definitely been accepted at Rome; 7 and the actual founding of the city was placed in the latter part of the eighth century, probably sometime around 725. (The "canonical" date of the city's foundation, namely 753 B.C., was established by Varro only in the first century before our era.) This was basically the condition of the Romulus legend at the time when it became fused with the Aeneas tradition. 8

About the early history of the Aeneas legend we have much more information. Beginning with the writings of Homer, Aeneas was a popular figure for the Greek poets. We shall, then, in chronological order review the principal evidence, both literary and archeological, which served to link the Trojan hero with the establishment of Rome.

In the Iliad, Aeneas occupies a position second only to that of Hector among the Dardanian warriors. He is described in numerous battle scenes9 and is generally praised for both his lineage and his bravery. But at best he is a secondary character in this great saga, as far as action is concerned. His later greatness, however, is clearly hinted at in the twentieth book, where Poseidon tells the rest of the gods (302-308): It is his fate to escape, so that the Dardan race may not perish without issue and be seen no more. (For it was Dardanus whom Zeus cherished above all his children born to him from mortal women.) But now the son of Cronos has grown to hate the tribe of Priam; and Aeneas and his descendants shall rule over the Trojans in the days to come.10

Henceforth, Aeneas' line will replace the house of Priam as the rulers of the Trojan people.

We must note that in no way does Homer even hint that Aeneas or his descendants will leave the Troad. He merely prophesies that they will succeed to the regal power.¹¹ Thus, while not himself pointing to the Roman destiny of the Aeneas legend, Homer leaves the way open for later interpreters to mold the story whatever way they will. 12

The character of Aeneas was also treated by at least two of the cyclic poets, who recounted his fate after the fall of Troy. Arctinus of Miletus in his Aethiopis related that Aeneas left the city immediately after the Laocoon disaster and returned to his home on Mount Ida. 13 Lesches of Mitylene told in the Little Iliad that Aeneas and Andromache were taken prisoners by Neoptolemus and conveyed to Greece. Also dating from this period are a number of anonymous legends which would connect Aeneas and Antenor with the Greeks, portraying them as the betrayers of their city. These traditions too seem to have been known in historical times, but little account was made of them.14

Hesiod also mentioned Aeneas. In his *Theogony*, he describes the love affair of Anchises and Aphrodite and the subsequent birth of Aeneas in the following terse terms (1008-10):

Aeneas fair-crowned Cytherea bore, after joining in sweet love with the hero Anchises on the peaks of Ida with its many wooded vales.

This reference itself is not overly important, but it does serve to show that Aeneas was highly regarded throughout Greek literature.

Another poem sometimes attributed to Hesiod ¹⁵ also reiterates the Homeric prophecy with regard to Aeneas. In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, the poet pictures the goddess speaking thus to Anchises (196-99):

You shall have a son who will rule over the Trojans, he and his children's children in unending succession. His name shall be Aeneas, because I have suffered awful (ainón) distress for having lain in the bed of a mortal.

To understand the rapid development of the Aeneas legend after Hesiod and the cyclic poets, we must stop for a moment and take cognizance of a significant historical movement which greatly influenced the spreading of the tales about Aeneas all over the Mediterranean world. This was the increasing popularity of the cult of Aphrodite under the epithet of Aineias. 16 The goddess under this title was the deity of the sea and of seafaring. The Greek sailors carried her wooden image in their ships; and in every important seaport they erected shrines in her honor.

With the passing of time, the original meaning of the epithet was lost; and subsequent generations came to look upon the many far-flung shrines as in some way connected with Aphrodite under the aspect of her motherhood of the Trojan Aeneas. In the individual towns where centers of the cult were situated, stories grew up around the origin of the shrine. In many instances Aeneas himself was supposed to have come from Troy and founded his kingdom in that spot. Thus, by the sixth century, there were a good number of local legends flourishing in the Mediterranean area around an Aeneas theme.17

Homer, Hesiod, and the cyclic poets had left the fate of Aeneas after the fall of Troy somewhat indeterminate. Where the minor authors had mentioned an opinion, they generally did not develop their story at any length. Hence the later people of Greece, who were avid readers of Homer, combined the Homeric prophecy with the various local traditions; and gradually a legend arose of Aeneas' travels all over the known world after the destruction of Ilium. The many small cities from Macedonia to Sicily which claimed Aeneas as their founder were taken into account; and an impressive itinerary of the surviving Trojans was mapped out which led around the Aegean. down to Africa, and west to Italy. Sometimes this tradition was confused with that of Odysseus, and sometimes Aeneas was pictured as a companion of the Ithacan. But eventually the legend of Aeneas' journeys emerged as an independent account.

The first literary acknowledgment of

Aeneas' travels westward occurs in the Greek poet Stesichorus (c. 640 - c. 555). In one of his works now lost, he portrayed Aeneas setting forth on his voyage, accompanied by Anchises. Ascanius, and the faithful trumpeter Misenus: "Aeneas and his household setting out for Hesperia."18 This information has been relayed to us by the well-known Tabula Iliaca, a series of reliefs on the Capitol in Rome depicting various scenes from the Aeneas legend supposedly based on Stesichorus. The authenticity of the reference to Stesichorus has been somewhat debated, but the weightier evidence would seem to lie in the poet's favor. 19

After Stesichorus, the next mention of Trojan settlement in Italy is by the chronicler Hellanicus of Lesbos. After taking Aeneas through the country of the Thracians and the Molossians, he brought him to the site of Rome, where Aeneas founded a city called after one of the Trojan women, Roma. This is the first extant literary reference which links Aeneas with the founding of Rome and probably was made towards the beginning of the fifth century before Christ. 20

During the rest of the fifth century and throughout most of the fourth, the Aeneas legends undoubtedly evolved in much more concrete detail; but we possess no definite literary allusions from this period. In his sixth book (chapter 2), Thucydides mentioned briefly some settlements in Sicily which traced their ancestry from Trojans who had sailed to the island after their great war with the Greeks. Also Aristotle reportedly took notice of veterans of the war traveling westward after hostilities had ceased; but he portrayed them as Greek soldiers who were blown off their course near Latium and then forced to settle there because some Trojan women, whom they held captive, burned their ships. 21

About the year 300, another Greek writer, Callias of Syracuse, once again took up the story of the Trojans in Latium. Leaving Aeneas out of his account, he told of Roma, one of the Trojan women, who married King Latinus. The offspring of this union were Romulus, Romus, and Telegonus.²²

Around the same time, Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 356-260) picked up the old legend; but he included Aeneas. In his saga, the Trojan hero founded both Lavinium, where he set up a shrine for the Trojan Penates, and Rome as well. Though Polybius tells us that Timaeus as a historian was quite untrustworthy, he seems to have had some influence upon the Roman people. Although it cannot be proven, some authors even suggest that he may have been the writer principally responsible for the acceptance of the Aeneas legend in Rome - which event seems to have taken place during his lifetime.23

At some time in the course of the third century, the story of Aeneas won official acceptance at Rome. As proof of this, there is usually quoted the statement of Justin, the Roman historian (fl. 2-3 cent. A.D.):

Acarnes quoque diffisi Epirotis adversus Aetolos auxilium Romanorum implorantes obtinuerunt a Romano senatu ut legati mitterentur, qui denuntiarent Aetolis, praesidia ab urbibus Acarnaniae deducerent paterenturque liberos esse, qui soli quondam adversus Troianos, auctores originis suae, auxilia Graecis non miserunt.²⁴

This assertion is backed up by Suetonius and has been generally accepted by historians and classicists alike. ²⁵ The date of this embassy is usually fixed around the year 230 B.C. It serves to show how firmly the tales of a Trojan founder had caught on at Rome, if the Senate itself, ever a conservative body, was willing to subscribe to them.

We have now come to an age when the Aeneas and Romulus traditions began to be fused. Timaeus of Tauromenium represented the last Greek author in the Aeneas line; and he wrote presumably around the beginning of the third century. And as we have seen before, the Romulus legend was definitely in vogue at Rome by the year 296. Then, during the course of the third century, these two traditions began to be combined into one more or less coherent history.

The task of fitting Aeneas and Romulus together was not a difficult one. Since the names of only seven kings after Romulus had been preserved up to the founding of the Republic about 509, this would place the son of Mars somewhere in the middle of the eighth century. Then to fill out the lacuna of about four hundred years after the supposed landing of Aeneas, a long Trojan dynasty was invoked, which embodied many names dimly remembered from the distant past. Romulus retained his position as the actual founder of the city, while Aeneas and his descendants were made to spend their four hundred years founding Lavinium and other cities in the neighborhood of Rome.

The two legends, though joined by the dawn of Latin literature, were still undergoing evolution. The first Roman author to utilize the fused tradition was Gnaeus Naevius (c. 270 - c. 201). From the few fragments that we possess of his Bellum Punicum, the first extant attempt at a Roman national epic, we catch glimpses of Aeneas and Anchises and their wives fleeing Troy, their departure on a ship which Mercury had constructed specially for their passage, the storm and the complaint of Venus to Jupiter (afterwards used by Vergil). Some commentators also think that Naevius was the first to bring the Dido episode into the story - a not unlikely supposition, considering the title of his work. But the passage which might hint at a Trojan encounter with Carthage is certainly open to other interpretations, 26

The next poet to treat the legend was Quintus Ennius (239-169). At the beginning of his Annales, he told the whole story of the flight from Troy and the wandering to Italy in some detail. According to his account, the founding of the city was dated about the year 900; and a daughter, Ilia, was given to Aeneas, from whom came his grandson Romulus.

About the same time as Ennius, Quintus Fabius Pictor wrote in Greek prose a history of Rome from its foundation down to his own day. According to H. J. Rose, he inserted in this work "a story of a dream wherein Aeneas saw all that was to befall him, and the familiar tales of the white sow and her farrow, the adventures of Romulus and Remus and so forth. . . ."²⁷

During the last century and a half before Vergil, numerous other writers treated the Aeneas and Romulus stories. Cato, Cassius Hemina, Lucius Aelius Tubero, Publius Nigidius Figulus, and Varro form a part of this large roster. They, for the most part, hashed over old tales and added little of significance to the tradition. Varro, for instance, told of Aeneas' escape to the citadel of Troy and said that, when the Greeks allowed him and his followers to depart with as much as each man could carry, instead of loading himself with treasure, he carried off his father; and, on being granted a second choice, he took the images of the gods. Livy treated the Aeneas legend briefly in the first two chapters of his first book and the Romulus legend at more length in chapters four through sixteen; but it is more likely that Vergil may have influenced him than he Vergil.28

This, then, is the very shadowy history of the evolution of the foundation legends down to the time of Vergil. Though we possess very few primary sources on the subject, still we can construct a definite pattern: the basic ascendancy of the native Italian Romulus legends concerning the actual founding of the city (replacing the Greek Rhomos legends towards the end of the fourth century), and the gradual development of the destiny of the hero Aeneas from the somewhat vague prophecies of Homer and Hesiod, through the native legends clustering around the spread of the Aphrodite-Aineias cult, through the traditions written down by Stesichorus, Hellanicus, Callias, and Timaeus, which step

by step brought the Trojans westward, to Sicily, to Latium, and to the foundation of Lavinium and even Rome. Then the native legends combine with the pedigree afforded by the Greek authors; and eventually we find the main skeletal outline utilized by Vergil in the Aeneid—Aeneas founding the ancient town of Lavinium, and Romulus Rome itself. It was this framework around which Vergil wove his mighty epic, borrowing of course both large and small details from his predecessors, but achieving his own majestic synthesis.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS SECTION will be to give in brief the actual archeological data which we possess about primitive Rome. Before commencing these historical considerations, we might make a few comments on the various opinions held on the truth of the legends that we have just related. Many modern authors hold with Laing that the legends in themselves have little or no historical value; and ancient authors like Cicero and Livy would seem to be in sympathy with them. But the consensus is by no means completely in this direction. Other scholars, such as Professor Phillips and Father Heithaus. hold that the legends have at their heart a core of historical truth - namely that there was a Trojan emigration to Latium in the distant past and that such elements in the tradition as the Rape of the Sabines express, albeit mythopoeically, some historical reality, e.g., that the invaders mixed with the aboriginal stock of the land. It will not be within the scope of this short article to make any definite decisions on this point, since the archeological evidence on both sides is hardly adequate to afford a satisfactory basis for judgment. But we would like to take the occasion to point out that the case is not closed against any historical truth being expressed in what are usually regarded as fanciful legends.29

Between the years 1500 and 800 B.c., many sea voyages were made from the Aegean area west to Italy, Sicily, and even as far as Spain and Cornwall. Thus a Trojan emigration to Italy can hardly be ruled out on an aprioristic basis. But, on the other hand, we possess no positive archeological evidence that such a movement of population took place. Rather it seems much more logical to conclude from the present state of excavations in the Roman Forum and elsewhere nearby that the early people of Rome were natives of the Italian peninsula.

Just before the beginning of the first millennium before Christ, the inhabitants of prehistoric Italy were divided into two main cultures, separated by a line running roughly from Rome north to a point on the east coast just south of the Po. The peoples living north and west of this line were mostly tribes who had descended into the peninsula from the north in the course of the second millennium: and they were distinguished from the aboriginal inhabitants who lived south and east of the abovementioned line-by their practice of cremating their dead. It is important to note that the border dividing these two cultures passed through the later site of Rome.

Sometime, then, in the closing decades of the eleventh century, the cremating culture made the first settlement in the area subsequently occupied by the imperial city.30 These people built a small village on the Palatine hill and buried their dead, after burning them, in the swamp that later became the Roman Forum. Homo suggests that this tiny cluster of mud huts was an outpost set up by the northern people to guard against sudden Etruscan encroachments along the banks of the Tiber; this, he claims, followed shortly after the Etruscan migration into Italy about the middle of the eleventh century.31 But this is a learned guess; and the only fact that can be definitely stated is that there was a village of the cremating people established on the Palatine just before 1000 B.C.

The question is often posed, why,

when the hills of Rome seem to afford such an excellent location for the building of a city, the site was not occupied earlier. The answer probably lies in the fact that the area was still undergoing a good deal of volcanic activity down through the twelfth century and that the land was thus literally too hot for any safe, permanent settlement. I personally believe that Vergil may have been unconsciously preserving an old legend of this volcanic activity in Evander's account of the Cacus episode.32 But, whatever our surmises on the subject, the fact remains that subterranean disturbances kept the future site of Rome relatively clear of inhabitants until the Palatine settlement.

Approximately two hundred years after the establishment of the cremating village, representatives from the southern or non-cremating peoples began settling on the nearby hills, especially the Esquiline and Quirinal. The newcomers also entombed their dead in the swampy Forum; and archeologists have found cremating and noncremating burial plots side by side from this time. At first, the three communities on the Palatine, Quirinal, and Esquiline remained separate; but, by the seventh century, they had entered into a league for mutual defense or perhaps for common religious worship. 33

These various settlements, however, were not permanently amalgamated until the second half of the seventh century, probably shortly before 600 B.C. At that time, a common wall was built surrounding all the villages, the Capitoline was annexed as a common citadel, the Forum was drained and its cemeteries closed. This, as Cary remarks, "may be regarded as the decisive moment in the genesis of Rome." Rome now possessed a united area of some 450 acres, a rather large city according to ancient standards. 35

This is, in brief, the history of the founding of Rome as told us by archeology. It tells us nothing of particular men and very little about particular events and dates; and, to that

extent, it neither proves nor disproves the old legends. But once again the general historical pattern that it affords us will allow us to make a few remarks on the accuracy of Vergil's traditions.

It is certainly a strange coincidence that makes Vergil place the first Greek settlement at the site of Rome on the Palatine hill—where the earliest village of the cremating people was really located. And this might be interpreted as a point in favor of those who would say that the legends embody some dimly remembered historical truth. But it is likewise quite certain that the first settlement was not Greek in origin. And, to that extent, the legend which would connect the Palatine with Pallanteum is unfounded, save on fanciful etymological grounds.

A speech of Evander, addressed to Aeneas while on tour of the Greek village, might also reflect an historical fact. Evander refers (8. 355-59) to two distinct settlements (which might be interpreted as the Esquiline-Quirinal and Palatine cultures)³⁶:

haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris, reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.

hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;

Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.

But again this conjecture is in the realm of slight probability.

Were the Romans Trojans? This question can be put in two ways: were the Romans themselves the descendants of Troy's survivors; or were the Etruscans, who are sometimes portraved as the founders of Roman culture, in any way connected with the Troad? To the first query, we may respond that certain evidence can be adduced to connect the Latin language with the twelfth-century speech of Asia Minor. There are many similarities between Latin and Hittite grammar; and Latin was itself a tiny island, a q-dialect, surrounded entirely by p-dialects on the Italian peninsula.37 But the linguistic evidence in itself is not overwhelming and need not imply any necessary racial relationship.

To the second query, we must once again plead lack of evidence. No one is sure of the origin of the Etruscans. They may have been a sea-faring people that came from Asia Minor, as might be surmised from their burfal customs. their language, and some aspects of their art. Then again, they may have been still another wave of invaders from the north; and even, some suggest, they may have been the original inhabitants of Italy, driven to the south by preceding invasions and now once again moving to their original position. Though the Asia Minor contention has more evidence on its side, it is not in any sense conclusively established. 38

But one thing at least is certain. The Etruscans played a significant part in the first union of the three primitive villages into Rome. When these towns united late in the eighth century, they probably did so as a league for defense against the Etruscans. And, when they were encompassed with the common wall, they had probably already been taken over by the Etruscan kings, the Tarquins, who used the city as an Etruscan outpost for trade with southern Italy. It was during the century or so of Etruscan rule that Rome shed her status as a backwoods village and began to emerge in the limelight of commerce, so that, shortly after she gained her freedom from the foreigner, men like Hellanicus of Lesbos would think her origins worth telling. Whether or not Rome's foundation as a unified city is due directly to the Etruscans is a highly debatable question; but some authorities would see in the word roma (or ruma) the Etruscan word for "river."

In summary, we might express the historical validity of the traditional legends in this fashion. The archeological evidence, by and large, neither confirms nor rejects much of the legend. But there were definitely no settlements at Rome in the twelfth century (when Aeneas was supposed to have arrived),

and Rome was not made into one city until about a century and a half after traditional date for Romulus, 753 B.C. No Trojan ancestry can be established either for the Romans or for the Etruscans, though the latter are much more likely than the former to have sprung from sources in Asia Minor. But the legends do, here and there, treat of points that the archeologists cannot completely explain, e.g., the similarities in language between Italy and the Aegean, and the Etruscan-Lydian artistic affinities. Perhaps future generations of excavators and philologists will be able to uncover more definite evidence towards the solution of these problems; but we must confine ourselves here and now to a judicious weighing of our scattered points of evidence. The origins of Rome, though today pointing away from the main claims of the traditional myths, could quite possibly be brought into a greater conformity with them. 39

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NOTES

¹ Most Romans gave a figure of over four hundred years. See Charles Knapp, The Aeneid of Vergil (New York, 1928) p. 166, note.

² Dion. Hal. 1. 72.

3 In treatments like this we must always remark at the outset that our knowledge on the subject is at best fragmentary and is likely to change with new archeological discoveries.

4 Servius' commentary has many scattered sections on this subject; Dionysius confines his treatment chiefly to the first and second books of his work. Pauly-Wissowa contains a full discussion of the various coins, statuary, and steles on which the legend is depicted, under "Romulus" (2te Reihe, 1ster Band, cols. 1074-1106).

⁵ Perhaps significantly Romulus is an Etruscan proper name, rumlna, frequently found in inscriptions.

⁶ Whether Remus is Latin or Greek in origin is difficult to say; but etymologists offer some fine arguments that his name too is Etruscan; cf. Pauly-Wissowa (see note 4) col. 1079.

7 In that year the famous statue of the Ogulnii was erected in the vicinity of the Palatine, depicting the wolf and the twins.

8 The chief sources on the Romulus legend (other than those already cited in note 4) are: H. Peter, Historicorum Romanorum Reliquae, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1906 and 1914); The Cambridge Ancient History (New York, 1928) vol. 7, pp. 365-69; M. Cary, A History of Rome (London, 1951) pp. 34-36; Livy 1. 7-16, though this latter is less helpful.

9 13. 468 ff.; 20. 156 ff.; et al.

10 Of special interest are the last two lines, which Vergil copies in 3. 97-98.

11 Some commentators interpret this as a vaticinium ex eventu — an indication that at the time of Homer's writing an Aeneid dynasty was reigning in the Troad. See Gordon J. Laing, "The Legend of Trojan Settlement in Latium," CJ 6 (1910) 51-52.

¹² Some sources on Homer's account of Aeneas are: T. R. Glover, Virgil, 5th ed. (London, 1923) pp. 86-92; Laing, ibid.; Henry W. Prescott, The Development of Vergil's Art (Chicago, 1936) pp. 136-58; Evan T. Sage, "The Non-Vergilian Aeneas," CJ 15 (1920) 350-51.

¹³ Sophocles is reputed to have drawn his Laocoön from Arctinus; Vergil probably drew from Sophocles.

14 Some sources on Aeneas and the cyclic poets are: Moses Hadas, A History of Greek Literature (New York, 1950) pp. 28-29; Laing (see note 11) p. 52; Sage (see note 12) pp. 331-52.

15 The poem dates from the eighth or seventh century and could possibly be attributed to Hesiod. The majority of authors, however, seem to be against such a designation.

16 The exact etymology of the epithet is unknown to us today. Surprisingly enough, some scholars opine that the philological attempt in the Hymn to Aphrodite is as good as any.

17 Accounts of the Aphrodite cult may be found in Glover (see note 12) pp. 95-97; Heithaus, "The History of the Aeneas Legend," The Historical Bulletin 8 (1930) 29; Laing, pp. 59-64; Prescott (see note 12) p. 159. An older account may be found in H. Nettleship, Vergil (New York, 1880) pp. 46-47.

18 This quotation is from the Tabula Iliaca.

¹⁹ Stesichorus and his role in furthering the Aeneas legend are discussed in Glover, pp. 97-98; Heithaus (see note 17) p. 34; Laing, pp. 52-53; Prescott, p. 158.

Hellanicus and Aeneas are treated in Glover.
 p. 100; Laing, p. 54; Prescott, p. 158. Dion. Hal.
 72 contains the primary reference.

21 Cited in Dion. Hal. 1. 72.

22 Callias is discussed in Laing, p. 54.

²³ Reference to Timaeus' text is made in Polybius 12. 4b and in Pausanias 1. 12. Secondary sources are Heithaus, p. 34; Laing, pp. 54-55; Prescott, pp. 158-59.

24 Justin 28. 1.

25 Claud. 25. For further arguments as to the validity of the Acarnanian embassy, one may consult Laing, pp. 55-56.

26 Primary sources are fragments 4, 5, 11, 13, and 24 in Bachrens' Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum. Secondary sources include: Cary (see note 8) p. 36; Glover, p. 102; Heithaus, p. 34; Moses Hadas, A History of Latin Literature (New York, 1952) pp. 19-21; Laing, p. 56.

²⁷ H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature (London, 1936) p. 113. Rose's sources are fragments 1-12 of Fabius Pictor, taken chiefly from Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. 28 The Latin authors from Ennius to Varro are discussed in: Cary, p. 36; Glover, pp. 102-103; Hadas, Lat. Lit., pp. 21-24, 58-59, etc.; Laing, pp. 56-57. I have, in general, omitted the discussion of the legends as they appear in Livy because of my preoccupation with ante-Vergilian sources, as stated above.

²⁹ For various opinions on this subject, one may consult the Cambridge Ancient History (see note 8); Charles Knapp, "Legend and History in the Aeneid," CJ 19 (1924) 198-214; E. D. Phillips, "Odysseus in Italy," JHS 73 (1953) 53-67.

30 Paleolithic remains dating back to 40,000 B.C., both primitive stone implements and two Neanderthaloid skulls, have been discovered near Rome. But the Palatine village was the beginning of continuous settlement in comparatively recent times.

31 Leon Homo, Primitive Italy (London, 1926) p. 78.

32 Aen. 8. 194 ff.

33 The fact of the league is known; its purpose can only be guessed at.

34 Cary, p. 37.

33 Archeological material on the early days of Rome may be found in: Arthur Boak, A History of Rome, 4th ed. (New York, 1955) pp. 35-39; Cary, pp. 36-39; Russel M. Geer, Rome, 2nd ed. (New York, 1950) pp. 7-14; Ida Thallon Hill, Rome of the Kings (New York, 1925) pp. 1-33; Homo (see note 31) pp. 67-98; Guiseppe Lugli, The Roman Forum and the Palatine, 2nd rev. ed. (Rome, 1955) pp. 5-8 and 81 ff.; Ettore Pals, Ancient Legends of Roman History (London, 1906) pp. 15-42; Chester G. Starr, The Emergence of Rome, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1953) pp. 7-16.

36 This twofold division could fit numerous circumstances in Roman history; for example, it could figuratively refer to the distinction between patrician and plebelan. I doubt whether it refers to the two groups of early settlements because of the geographical position of the Janiculum on the other side of the Tiber.

37 W. F. J. Knight, "Aeneas and History," Greece and Rome 6 (1953) 73-77. A q-dialect is one which has words like coquo and coquina where a p-dialect would have popo and popina.

38 The sources for the Etruscan influence on early Rome are those included in note 35, with the exception of Hill and Pais. Special treatments of the Etruscans in these early days may be found in Sibylle von Cles-Reden, The Buried People (New York, 1956); David Randall MacJuer, The Etruscans (Oxford, 1927) esp. pp. 1-17, 131-43; Massimo Pallottino, The Etruscans (London, 1956) esp. pp. 46-100; Fritz Schachermeyer, Etruskische Frühgeschichte (Berlin, 1929) esp. pp. 179-220.

39 By this I mean to imply that the core of the folklore surrounding the foundations of Rome may mirror some vague truth, not that all the poetic inventions of subsequent generations will find their prototype in historical fact.

Readers may be further interested in a recently published study of the historical validity of the legends concerning Aeneas' wanderings before reaching Italy: Robert Lloyd, "Aeneid III and the Aeneas Legend," AJP 78 (1957) 382-400.

we see by the papers editor GRAVES H. THOMPSON

LATIN IN SPRINGTIME

Spring, always a season of hope, this year burgeoned in the nation's press with evidences that Latin is aburst with vitality. From New England to California, papers and magazines found it newsworthy that American youth still finds study of this ancient language valid and profitable.

The most striking instance was an eightcolumn picture spread across the front page of the Hartford Courant (April 27), showing the Connecticut State Junior Classical League in session and overshadowing even the leading headline of the day, "Reds Turn Down Proposal for Moscow Parley to Prepare Summit Meeting."

The caption beneath the picture and the succeeding first-page article read as follows:

TEENAGERS TAKE TO LATIN: Saturday was a no-school day and the weather was bright, but at least 250 Connecticut teenagers put aside fun and games to devote several hours to discussing their favorite subject — Latin. They spent the day at Mt. St. Joseph Academy attending the Fourth Regional Convention of the Connecticut State Junior Classical League, and as this cross-section (above) of the crowd shows, Virgil and Caesar still carry a lot of weight with a young generation in a world full of Elvises. . . .

Three Trinity College students conducted a classics symposium on "The Value of Latin in College." The three, all juniors, agreed that primarily Latin is valuable because it trains minds to think and analyze. Of secondary importance, it was said, Latin offers an idea of what men thought and did in one of the greatest civilizations of the past, in addition to providing a background for English grammar and literature.

David Belmont of Chicago said, "Latin and Greek cause you to analyze and think in an orderly, systematic manner. It does not teach skills and ways of becoming wealthy materially but rather emphasizes the importance of intellectual and spiritual knowledge."

"Latin develops the habit of logical thought and must be judged on its own ground, aside from the fact it provides a tremendous background for English literature and grammar," William Owen of Philadelphia said.

Both Belmont and Owen are classics ma-

jors at Trinity. Michael Rewa of East Hartford, an English major, said, "Although it is important in its own right, Latin should also be considered as a preliminary disciplinary factor for the study of the Romance languages and English. A deep understanding of the past which can be obtained by studying the classics is also necessary for the educated person," he said. . . .

One Roman banquet came to national attention when the May 19th issue of Life carried in its Letters section a picture captioned "Young Romans in Tuscaloosa High Wear Banquet Togas." Clodia, Mark Antony, Cicero would have been proud to be included in this remarkably handsome group of Alabama belles and boys. The accompanying letter from Ann Harper said:

Since Life covered the "sack and shirts with the baggy look" side of Tuscaloosa High School ("Schoolboys Whack the Sack," Life, April 28), you might be interested in another side of our school.

Here is a picture taken at our annual Latin club banquet, which completed Latin week. You'll notice no sacks here, but togas.

Your pictures and story about our "revolt" were quite interesting. but our high school's other side is pretty interesting too!

From the Boston Daily Globe of May 7 came another hint of the power of Latin:

Boston Latin School and Boston College High School each have three big reasons for being proud this week.

They are the only secondary schools in New England, public or private, to come up with a trio of winners in the countrywide National Merit Scholarship competition.

Every one of the six boys yesterday praised their schools and faculties, some even going so far as to say they wouldn't have achieved this national honor without them

And here's something to warm Dr. Conant's heart (as the ex-Harvard president studies American high schools)....

Despite the fact that five of these six winners are headed for scientific careers,

they've all had at least four years of Latin with a healthy dose of Greek, French, and German mixed in.

A growing popularity of language (and Latin) courses is illustrated from other sources. An article in the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch stated:

Not all students intend to become scientists and mathematicians, in spite of the recent emphasis on these subjects. A survey at Douglas Freeman High School indicates that language courses are becoming increasingly popular, and that there is a trend toward taking more languages.

Approximately 46 per cent of the students at DSF take one of the four foreign languages offered there—French, German, Latin, and Spanish. Some students are taking

two languages. .

The majority of foreign language students take Latin. This year there are six beginning Latin classes, four second-year classes who read Caesar, and one third-year class studying Cicero. Next year there will be a fourth-year class, studying Virgil. . . .

From the U.S. News & World Report of June 13:

In up-state New York, two small schools are moving the instruction of difficult languages into the elementary classroom.

The Orchard Park Central School, in Orchard Park, a suburb of Buffalo, is going to offer regular high-school Latin to talented seventh-graders this September. In most schools, Latin isn't offered until the ninth grade—if it's offered at all.

By studying Latin in the elementary school, students in Orchard Park who are interested in languages will be able to get four years of each of two languages before

graduating from high school. . . .

OXFORD MISINTERPRETATION OF LYSISTRATA

Early last March, stories from Oxford of how "some coeds with an ancient Greek idea have ruled out love-making until their boy friends join a Ban-the-H-Bomb Campaign" (Associated Press) were printed in newspapers throughout the country. Of particular political pertinence were the comments of the editor of the Richmond News Leader, under the heading "Unilateral Love-Ban":

THROUGH THE YEARS, many a national tragedy has been caused by some fumbling diplomat's failure to read history correctly. Never before, however, has tragedy been threatened by some coeds' misunderstanding of ancient literature. This almost happened last week in once-jolly England. The girls at Oxford sought to place a ban on lovemaking until their boy friends joined them in seeking a ban on the H-bomb.

Precedent for this drastic action—can a college man conjure anything worse?—derived from Aristophanes' comedy, Lysistrata. It seems to us, though, that Oxford's girl pacifists misread the play. The whole point of Lysistrata was that the Athenian wives got together with the Spartan wives and tried to end the whole Peloponnesian War by calling a halt to love-making until their warring husbands negotiated a

treaty of peace.

This was a bilateral ban, and what the Oxford girls proposed was a unilateral deal. The West has made too many unilateral concessions to the Communist bloc as it is. If these Oxford women wanted to emulate Aristophanes (and they might do well to think that over for a while), they should have negotiated first with the coeds at Moscow University. If the Russian girls had agreed to put a ban on love, while the Oxford girls agreed to put a ban on love, together they might have made some progress toward a ban on the H-bomb.

We doubt it, though. The whole thing had the air of a Red plot, and we were gratified to read a couple of days ago that it's all off. The modern-day Lysistrata, lamenting the frailty of her sex, announced that her fellow coeds were just too frivolous to take anything seriously. A good thing, too.

THE AMERICAN PAVILION

By common consent, the outstanding thing about the United States exhibit at the Brussels World's Fair has been the U.S. Pavilion itself. Designed by Edward Durell Stone, it has received unstinted praise.

In a long feature article on Mr. Stone and his work, Time (March 31) had occasion to emphasize his present indebtedness to classic architecture:

Poised in the midst of the last-minute clutter and confusion stands the U.S. Pavillon, a soaring, airy, translucent drum, delicately resting on thin steel columns now getting their final gold lacquer. . . Nearly as vast as the width of Rome's ancient Colosseum, which inspired it, combining dignity, symmetry, and an inviting holiday glitter, the pavilion is the finest showcase the U.S. has built abroad at a major

world's fair . . . a leading contender for world architectural honors. . . .

One of the profession's freest spirits and by general consensus the most versatile designer and draftsman of his generation, Ed Stone was a pioneer modernist. . . . In recent years he revolted against the monotony of cityscapes composed of acres of glass façades, chrome, and exposed steel. Instead, Architect Stone turned to his own great love of classic monuments and deep love of beauty. "In my own case," he says, "I feel the need for richness, exuberance, and pure, unadulterated freshness."

"To frame and enclose such a huge space is an opportunity that doesn't come often to an architect," says Ed Stone. "Neither does the problem of spanning 350 feet. Why, you could put the University of Arkansas' football field in here and still have room." In the cloth velarium used by Roman emperors to cover the Colosseum, Stone found his solution to roofing the largest free-span circular building ever erected. He devised a bicycle-wheel system of cables, each under 110 tons' tension, to hold up the pavilion's 68,400 sq. ft. plastic outer roof. . . .

Stone has never regretted the hours he spent copying details from D'Espouy's Fragments de l'Architecture Antique. "Those great monuments of the past were an inspiration, not to copy, but to enrich your vocabulary. The Pompeian house and the romance of the classical — why, I harken to them even now."...

CAVE OF PAN UNCOVERED

From Athens, news of an important discovery appearing in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of May 11:

NEAR THE WINDY Marathon plain where the ancient Greeks fought one of their most famous battles, a laborer not long ago stumbled onto a cave that sent him running for the nearest archeologist.

His discovery turned out to be a long lost cave dedicated to the worship of the shaggy, goat-legged god Pan. And the laborer was perhaps the first human inside it for as long as 18 centuries. . . .

There is no doubt Pan was worshipped there. An inscription on a marble slab says so in plain fifth-century B.C. Greek.

The cave is located on a hillside four miles from the site of the battle of Marathon, fought in 490 s.c. There the ancient Greeks, who believed they were fighting with divine help from Pan, defeated the Persians and preserved their homeland from foreign bond-

age. It was among the first fateful battles in the long conflict between East and West.

Archeologists knew that a cave sacred to Pan existed somewhere along the edge of Marathon plain, in Attica. Mention of it had been made in an early guide-book containing descriptions by a Greek traveler, Pausanias, who went sightseeing all over the civilized world of his day, in the 2nd century A.D.

The belief had even spread in recent years that a shallow cave, located on the eastern slope of Oinois hill, in Marathon, may have been the cave referred to by Pausanias.

Then one day a couple of months ago, a laborer saw a fox vanish through a tunnel on the northern slope of that same hill. Curious, he decided to see where it led.

After crawling through the tunnel in pitch darkness for about 60 feet, he switched on his flashlight. The sight that met his eyes sent him scurrying to Athens to report his find to Prof. John Papadimitriou, inspector of Attica antiquities.

It did not take Papadimitriou long to ascertain that it was none other than the long-lost cave of Pan.

The cave fits Pausanias' description like a glove. It has two big chambers connected by a long narrow corridor. Its pale, weirdly shaped stalactite and stalagmite formations look like goat herds of Pan, as Pausanias wrote. In places where the stalactites join the stalagmites, recesses are formed. These recesses Pausanias called baths, presumably because of the dripping stalactites.

The cave has a ceiling of blue and green marble. Its over-all length exceeds 300 feet. A leading Greek authority on caves says it must have been formed a million years ago.

From an archeological viewpoint, however, the most important thing about the cave is the rubble — in parts 9 to 10 feet deep — covering the floor. The rubble is packed with debris of earthen jars, idols and other paraphernalia of worship.

Fragments picked out of the rubble range from Neolithic times (3500 B.C.) to the first centuries of the Christian era. But between the end of the Mycenaean period and the beginning of the Classical period — that is, between 1100 B.C. and about 500 B.C. — is a 600-year break. No objects dating from that intermediary period have been found in the rubble.

This seems to indicate that the worship of Pan in the Marathon cave must have been discontinued for 600 years and resumed at the beginning of the Classical period. . . .

Selections from Greek and Roman Historians, edited by C. A. Robinson, Jr. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1957. Pp. xl, 341. \$.95.

THIS PAPERBACK, presumably intended chiefly as a supplemental text for college courses, offers a well-considered selection of chapters from Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Livy, Sallust, Suetonius and Tacitus. A fairly lengthy introduction provides a judicious blend of historical and historiographical information and vigorously argues the case for the study of ancient history. There is also a useful bibliographical note for those who might wish to learn more about the subject.

All of these features of the book are to the good, and yet it seems to me that their value has been offset by the character of some of the versions selected. The text gives the publication date of only one of these, Dakyns' Xenophon (1890), but a check of the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books reveals that without exception they are all Victorian in origin, the earliest being Forester's Suetonius (1848) and Watson's Sallust (1848), and the latest Jowett's Thucydides (2nd ed., 1900).

Now this fact in itself is no cause for complaint. Certainly Jowett's excellent and Thucydides and Shuckburgh's straightforward Polybius (1889) show very few signs of their age and retain their usefulness even in the particular circumstances of an anthology of this type. But what of the other versions? Perhaps a few brief examples of the kind of rhetoric to be found in them can best state the case: "wherefore dost thou deem" (p. 3); "It were folly not to be borne" (p. 17); "The Athenians . . . were in sore perplexity" (p. 131); "they hurried away with all possible expedition" (p. 183); "since nature is putting a period to my life, I exhort and conjure you" (p. 211); "He endeavored with equal assiduity to engage in his interest princes and provinces" (p. 227); "he disappointed the expectation which was generally entertained" (p. 231); "she applied remedies to her wound, and fomentations to her person" (p. 287). I suspect that quite a few college students, confronted by stylistics of this sort, will conclude hastily if illogically that at least one reason for the

collapse of the ancient world was its failure in the arts of discourse and communication. A more reasonable conclusion would be that translations of this kind contributed to the decline, if not the collapse, of classical studies in the last century (see Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition, p. 470, on this point in reference to the Bohn series, in which some of these translations were originally printed).

I realize that in some cases these versions represent the only translation available to a modern editor, but I do not think that fact justifies their reproduction. Two remedies, it seems to me, are needed in this situation: one, an end to the reprinting in whole or in part even of a work like Rawlinson's Herodotus (1858), which is a classic in its own right (check your library stacks to see how often it has been reprinted in our time); and two, a continuation of the kind of fresh and vigorous work done for the historians in MacKendrick and Howe, Classics in Translation, 2 vols. (Madison, 1952).

KEVIN HERRERT

Bowdoin College

Scipio Africanus, edited by F. S. PORTER. (Cambridge Elementary Classics) Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1957. Pp. 128.

THIS IS ANOTHER useful little classical text for which we are indebted to our British colleagues. It consists of selections from Book 30 of Livy, with a concise historical introduction (8 pp.), Latin text (41 pp.), a two-page sketch of Scipio's later life, notes (27 pp.) and a vocabulary at the back.

Since there are few extended passages in Livy which do not contain historical excitement and vivid scenes, an instructor or editor may have trouble in deciding which book may best represent Livy. Hannibal's passage of the Alps has perhaps been the favorite. Book 30, however, describes Scipio's campaign in Africa, with the Battle of Zama as the climactic event; and there is much to be said for the historical perspective which suggests the choice of

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"One of the most insidious fallacies against which Professor Grant and Mr. Pottinger militate is the notion that translations of ancient works 'may be written in boringly pedantic English, full of ancient technical terms,' Here, of course, the day has already been won; and no single institution has done more to effect a salutary revolution in translation than the Penguin Classics-or, indeed, brought Greek and Latin texts to a wider lay audience. This is a project which deserves a better label than the faintly pejorative one of haute vulgarisation; and its virtues are well summed up in Mr. de Selincourt's version of Arrian. His introduction is a model of informative brevity, both on Arrian himself and Alexander; he is well aware-a rare quality among scholars-of his author's weaknesses and shortcomings; and he turns Arrian's rather fusty and consciously pseudoarchaic prose into a clean-cut, fast-moving English narrative. Lastly, amateur strategists will be pleased to find several excellent sketch-maps."

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Book 30 as representative of Livy—since representation by selection is the best that can be done for Livy in the Latin cursus in this country.

The text has been presented with the younger reader in mind; the formal title (not on the cover) is Scipio Africanus or The Thunderbolt. Hannibal's speech to Scipio, before Zama, is presented in English; and the notes provide literal and then free translations of the stickier Livian idioms and constructions, rather than the capsule essays on comparative Latin syntax to be found in many of our older texts. The book has been designed, one infers, for the British equivalent of our Grade XI or XII student, but since Livy is perforce a college author with us, the question is where a text such as this may be used. This reviewer's judgment is that it may well be used in the fourth or fifth semester after the student has begun Latin in college; even with helpful notes, the Livian sentence structure is a little too alarming without an easier intermediate author or two.

NORMAN J. DEWITT

University of Minnesota

Greek Proverbs: A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases which are not listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Paroemiographers, by REINHOLD STRÖMBERG. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1954. With Introduction, Notes, Bibliography, and Indices. Pp. 145. 15 kr.

THE NUMBER OF PROVERBS contained in this collection is something like 470, although they are not numbered consecutively throughout. They are taken from more than a hundred different writers, early and late, including a few Byzantines, and are accompanied by a useful commentary and bibliography. The limits of what is included are of course arbitrary, as must be the case with any collection of proverbs or fables, owing to the endless variety and multiplicity of the matter that might logically be admitted; but a supplement of the kind here made to our corpus of Greek proverbs has long been needed and is very welcome. The author deserves our congratulations on having made a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. His book is interesting and will be permanently useful.

Some of the proverbs recorded by Strömberg will be familiar to the student of Greek literature, or known from their mod-

ern equivalents, but many others will impress him as new or curious. The following examples may give some idea of their variety and interest: p. 30, ho oînos ouk échei pe·dália (Athenaeus); p. 34, ho ptúsas eis murme-kiàn oideî tà cheile. (Dinolochus Comicus): p. 52, dós moi tèn sémeron kai lábe tèn aúrion (John Chrysostom); p. 57, tòn héteron póda en têi sorôi échein, "to have one foot in the grave" (Lucian); p. 59, ho mè dareis ánthro pos ou paideúetai (Menander); p. 74, mo-rôi kai basileî nómos ágraphos (Porphyry, schol. on Horace); p. 75, koinė naûs koinė so te ría (Porphyry of Tyre); p. 98, eleuthéra Kórkura, chéz' hópou théleis (Strabo and Eustathius). "To put horns on someone" (p. 28), meaning to cuckold a husband, is familiar as a proverbial expression in modern literature since the Renaissance, but many will be surprised to learn that it was well known also in the second century, although Artemidorus is apparently the only ancient writer who mentions it. As Strömberg rightly observes, the meaning of the words quibus prae mala sua cornua nascuntur in Petronius (39. 12) is probably very different.

It is not clear to this reviewer why some of the proverbs, which are found in authors excerpted by Strömberg, but not in the Corpus, have not been mentioned. Such are palindromêsai mâllon è kakôs drameîn in Lucian (Asinus 18) and ek kunòs pro-ktoû (ib. 56), both of which are labelled asproverbial expressions by the author. The first of the two is closely parallel in meaning to no. 69 in the Aesopic collection (kalòn argein è kakôs ergázesthai), and the other was explained for the first time by P. Junghanns in Philologus, Supplementb. 24 (1932) 36, n. l: a popular saying addressed to one suffering from sore eyes was, according to the scholiast on Aristoph. Ach. 863, blépe eis pro-ktòn kunós. Lucius here says, with a play on the sense of ek, that he was rescued (i.e., cured) not from (looking into) a dog's pro-któn, but from the curiosity of an ass. From the Palatine Anthology 10. 48 the author might have added mé·pote douleúsasa gunè· déspoina génoito, ésti paroimiakón, and the parallel expressions cited in my Aesopica, p. 225, no. 35. The following proverb, found at the end of cod. Ricardianus 93 (see Stud. Ital. di Fil. Class. 2 [1894] 533), may be worth mentioning here because it is elsewhere, so far as I know, unrecorded: kántho·n kai polúchrusos eò·n ónke·thmon aeídei.

To the bibliography, which is a valuable part of the book (pp. 109-22), one should add Bonser's Bibliography of Proverb Literature (London, 1930), the omission of which

is no doubt due to an oversight, and, on Menander (p. 115), the latest critical study of the Monostichoi by G. Lanowski, De Monostichis Menandri quae dicuntur Quaestiones Selectae (Breslau, 1951).

The explanatory notes which accompany the proverbs are often helpful and interesting, and the author draws on the proverb lore of many countries for illustration. especially on that of modern Greece, with which he shows a special familiarity. At times, however, the reader will look in vain for the explanation of a proverb whose meaning is not at all self-evident, and should at least be discussed. It is irritating to be given, in place of an explanation, mere references to other writers who have explained, or tried to explain, the proverb. For example, on p. 77, what about Caeneus and his spear? Does every reader know the story, or must he look up Apostolius 4. 19? The author should have explained this for the reader's convenience, even though he had nothing new to add. When, as often, he does have new material of his own with which to illustrate or interpret a proverb, he does not hesitate to put it forth in extenso.

The following comments occur to the reviewer in perusing the author's notes. The proverb from Anna Comnena on p. 19, tòn kapnòn prò toû puròs paremphainein, is much like our English metaphorical expression "smoke screen," taken from naval tactics in recent times. The proverb pan xúlon kai párta líthon liparon proskunein, quoted from Clement of Alexandria on p. 31. surely has no connection, as suggested, with the proverbial phrase pánta lithon kinein, the meaning of which-"to leave nothing undone," or "to look everywhere in a search"-is totally different. Clement's phrase refers only to superstition (deisidaemonia) as described by Theophrastus, Char. 16.5, by Apuleius in his Florida, ch. 1, and by Lucretius 5. 1199. I do not see how Strömberg can doubt that the proverb chútra kai pétra ou sumpho-nei, from Epictetus on p. 37, has the same meaning as the Aesopic fable about the bronze pot and the earthenware pot: "the strong and the weak can never be pals" (or associate on equal terms) for the one is sure to break the other. The mention of chutra along with pétra in this phrase conveys no other idea than that of the softness or fragility of the one, which itself is proverbial (see chutreoûs in Corp. Paroem. Graec., vol. 1, p. 465), in grimly ironical contrast with the hardness of the other. The suggestion that the proverb in question "may be a variation of the common 'adynaton' lithon hépsein" is farfetched and absurd. The statement on p. 52, under no. 6, that "It is very rare for a Greek proverb to take the form of a question," needs a little qualification, since no other examples are cited. There are eight such proverbs among the 200 ascribed to Aesop, namely, nos. 44, 89, 128, 129, 162, 169, 176, and 188 in this reviewer's edition. On the proverb élaphos anti parthénou (p. 55, from Libanius) reference should be made to Apuleius, Met. 8. 26: non cervam pro virgine, sed asinum pro homine ... videre. On the proverb from Theocritus on p. 82, elpides en zo-oîsin, anélpistoi dè thanôntes, compare no. 9 in the Aesopic collection: ho zôn toùs zôntas blépei. Strömberg finds no parallel to the proverbial expression me·dè kúna dúnasthai tréphein in Tzetzes (p. 85). said of great poverty; the same idea is expressed more effectively in the punchline of a versified fable by Ignatius Diaconus (Aes. no. 354): ho-s oudè mûn dúnasthe k'an tréphein héna! These are the words of a mouse who is being carried out of a blacksmith's shop almost dead of starvation, meaning "You blacksmiths are so poor that you can't support even a mouse." It is probably true, as S. observes (p. 107), that the original Greek verse, to which Quintilian refers for the proverbial saying "Clothes make the man," is not preserved; but a proverb in the late Aesopic collection, no. 65, is the same in effect: eueimantos étimos, aneimantos átimos.

B. E. PERRY

University of Illinois

Roman History from Coins: Some Uses of the Imperial Coinage to the Historian, by MICHAEL GRANT. Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. 96. 32 plates. 2 maps. \$2.75.

Professor Grant, currently Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum, has put together this small book from the J. H. Gray Lectures delivered at Cambridge for the Faculty of Classics in 1955 and from several articles in publications such as The Geographical Magazine, History Today and The Listener. He states that the book is intended to show how coins throw light on events of the past, taking as illustration the coinage of the Roman empire, "which has long been recognized to be of greater his

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torical value than any other of the world's coinages." His five major essays (several divided into two or three parts) are illustrated by plates of excellent quality arranged in stimulating fashion. The captions to each plate are designed both to follow the text and to be a commentary in themselves. Some of the plates are so clear that, in one case (pl. 5, no. 4), one can see a multifigured imperial adlocutio scene on the shield held by Probus (276-232 A.D.) in his half-figure portrait on the obverse of a large gilt bronze medallion.

The book will make certain basic reading much more interesting in high-school and college classes on Roman history, literature and civilization as a whole. I would urge students to purchase it but for one factor: the price is somewhat out of proportion to the size of the book; perhaps the hard covers are responsible, but \$1.75 should be maximum for a work on this small format, with a relatively short text in terms of printed words. The American "edition" differs only from its British counterpart in having the British price snipped off the bottom of the dust jacket and the American price printed in on top. One thus might suspect this is another case of Americans being asked to pay up to double over here for what they can order from Spink in London or Blackwell's in Oxford (at the price Britishers pay) for only the effort of a ten-cent air letter and a few cents postage.1 The ones who suffer are American libraries which order through domestic suppliers, and classical libraries do not have money to waste in the present world of numerous and expensive archeological books and journals.

Professor Grant's text is fascinating and covers much more ground than one would imagine from its seventy-nine pages. Besides the plates, maps of "The Roman Empire and Beyond in the Time of Augustus 31 B.C. - A.D. 14" have been designed to show the regions and cities, however obscure, mentioned in the text. There is a section titled "Note on Ancient and Modern Books," and the ancient writers referred to in the essays receive a line or two of biography. A special Key to Plates, giving metals, and an Index are not what we would expect in a book this size, and they are very welcome. The Foreword also states "No knowledge . . . of coins and their technicalities has been assumed in the reader. though I hope that those who possess such knowledge will not find the book totally uninteresting." The text, I am sure, will be as absorbing to one who has specialized in ancient coins for years as to one who

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VAN NOSTRAND

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is discovering their historical usefulness in this world of visual aids for the first time.

The first essay presents the multiplicity and propaganda value of Roman coin types in trying to judge how rulers thought of their coins. This leads to the personalities of men of the late Republic and Empire as gauged from their portraits on the obverses and the selection of inscriptions, divinities, group scenes or monuments of architecture on the reverses. Augustus and Nero are taken as studies in contrast. Augustus was successful in making posterity see him just as he wished to be presented, but Nero's coins could not hide the monster behind noble sentiments, homage to Augustan traditions, and beautifully executed die designs. Other essays move rapidly over subjects such as the Empire in war and peace. little-known emperors and their consorts identified from coins, Roman numismatic art, the coinage of Greek cities under the Empire, and Rome beyond the imperial frontiers (to borrow the title of Sir Mortimer Wheeler's popular book of 1954). The masterful alternation of the specific and the general makes so small a book seem much longer and fuller. The comments on the city coinages of Asia Minor and neighboring areas in the second and third centuries A.D. are particularly valuable, for Prof. Grant knows this area and its complex coinages well and there is no general handbook on the subject. Greek imperial coins, especially those of the provinces of Asia, are not only important to students of political and architectural history but preserve late versions of rare myths in compositions reflecting monumental art (e.g., pl. 31, no. 5, a coin of Smyrna under Philip ca. 245 A.D. showing Alexander's vision of the two Nemeses, and pl. 31, no. 6, a similar reverse of Phrygian Apamea with Noah's Ark, duly labelled in Greek).

After finishing Prof. Grant's small book. one asks what should the next monograph on Roman coins emphasize and how should it be organized? A new general handbook of Roman republican and imperial coinages is needed to replace Harold Mattingly's Roman Coins in the Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology series of thirty years ago, and to give substance to the various departmental guides published by the British Museum over the last three decades. The historical and artistic value of Roman republican coins continues to be slighted. This is a weak point when we examine the book reviewed here; in reality, it should have been titled Roman Imperial History from Coins. Sydenham's Coinage of the Roman Republic (Spink, London, 1952) does not contain the wealth of erudite footnotes found in H. A. Grueber's Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum (1910), and a new general work on these coins would tie together the historical and aesthetic developments postulated by Mattingly, Robinson, Vessberg and Alföldi in books and articles since 1930. We can hope for some of this in forthcoming installments of R. Thomson, Early Roman Coinage (Vol. I, The Evidence) Copenhagen, 1957. And the historians of art continue to divide Roman coinage into vertical compartments: portraits here, architectural reverses there, and special series such as medallions in a third place. These should all be interrelated by periods, the way sculpture, painting and minor arts have been treated in the standard histories by G. M. A. Richter, E. S. Strong, J. M. C. Toynbee and others.

But all these thoughts are stimulated by Prof. Grant's latest work, and against the measure of scholarship in Roman studies past and present his essays are very worthwhile for numismatic specialists and for the wider public of classical learning. Greek, Roman and related coins still offer more undiscovered potential than any other type of archeological material in the millennium

from ca. 550 B.C. to 500 A.D. In preparing any group of ancient coins for presentation in an essay for those conscious of the interrelationship of numismatic history and numismatic art, one should not fail to mark the high standards set by Prof. Grant in the book reviewed here.

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

¹ The book appears under new items in a March 1958 list from London at 12/6 (\$1.75), plus 9d postage (if ordered separately); the Manager of the Cambridge University Press, American Branch, also kindly confirmed this price in a letter, March 17, 1958. A similar complaint was made by the reviewer in this journal (53 [1957] 120 f.) about C. H. V. Sutherland's Art in Coinage offered in England at 25s (\$3.50) and in this country at \$7.50; the book is now being remaindered by Marboro at \$2.98 (N.Y. Times, Sunday, March 16, 1958, p. 12E, no. 5822).

Horace, by Eduard Fraenkel. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. xiv, 464. \$7.70.

THIS VOLUME might be considered an encyclopedia of Horace, so vast is the range of material covered. Here a student of Horace's poetry or the scholar seeking to unravel a special problem can find helpful information from art, history, linguistics, numismatics, geography, epigraphy, religion, philosophy, etc. As stated in the Preface, "to try to understand his poetry" (p. vii) is the main concern of the work as a whole; " . . . what induced me to write this book was my desire to remove from the poems of Horace some of the crusts with which the industry of many centuries has overlaid them and to enable a sympathetic reader to listen as often as possible to the voice of the poet and as seldom as possible to the voices of his learned patrons" (p. vii). In order to do this, however, Fraenkel himself has consulted all "the learned patrons," weighed and evaluated their many opinions, and combined the results with his own thinking before expressing his interpretations. Many valuable references to previous studies are found in his excellent documentation.

Two lesser themes may be traced throughout. In the author's words, again from the Preface, he has "tried to give an idea of the artistic unity of some of Horace's books" and has "endeavored to outline the history of his poetry from his early experiments to his maturest and most perfect works" (p. viii). The result is an interpretation of the whole poet, so to speak, which might be described in the form of an ever-expanding circle. Starting from a pinpoint,

the discussion of a difficult or interesting word, the reader may advance to the place of a troublesome thought in an ode or letter, then to the position of an ode or satire not only in its book but in the chronology of its kind, and finally to the epodes, odes, etc., in the development of the poet. The Table of Contents lists nine sections, each with appropriate sub-titles.

I. Vita Horati. Biographical data from Horace himself in his writings and from the Life which has come to us anonymously in a few of the manuscripts have been interwoven carefully to elucidate facts which are of help in interpreting the poetry. Topics considered with particular emphasis are the geography of regions with which Horace was familiar, the importance of "the alliance of the Roman mind with the thought, the poetry, and the art of Greece" (p. 8), the flight from Philippi and its effect on Horace's life and fortunes, and his relationship to Maecenas and Augustus.

II. The Epodes. This chapter seems almost unreasonably long (pp. 24-75) in a book entitled Horace. It is necessary, however, to show what Horace has learned from his Greek and Hellenistic models and how certain traits characteristic of the later lyrics were already appearing. In Epode 10. for example, he borrowed only the general outlines of the subject from the old Greek iambus, then developed the poem with devices from Hellenistic poetry. "Consequently what had been a weapon in a serious struggle became in his hands a dexterous display of literary patterns" (pp. 35-36). Marked progress is noted within the Epodes. "Horace had a great gift for learning discretion without losing in strength. He did not repeat the experiments of his early period. As his discernment matured, he endeavoured, instead of building his poetry on an utterly unreal plane, to set it firmly on the ground on which he was himself standing" (p. 70). And this is true also of the development of satires, odes and epistles.

III. Book I of the Satires and IV. Book II of the Satires. Book I of the Satires is discussed at considerable length. Here too the relationship between Horace and his predecessors (now including the Latin poet Lucilius) is stressed. Looking to the future, the author considers the characteristics of the later lyrics which have already appeared, such as skill in handling ornamental detail and the ability to picture a definite landscape in a few words. Perhaps because "the second book of his sermones, while containing some masterpieces and proving throughout a model of resourceful-

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ness and balanced execution, shows in more than one place signs of strain" (p. 137-38), the discussion of these poems is quite limited, and the author moves on to the section which is of more general interest.

V. Odes, Books I-III. In this section, by far the longest (pp. 154-307), and rightly so, the Odes are divided into the following six groups: those related to Alcaeus, related to other Greek poems, addressed to Maecenas, to Agrippa and Pollio, concerned with Augustus, and the three epilogues. All are not discussed, but the selection includes enough "to bring out at any rate the most significant aspects" and those "which seem to be most difficult for a modern reader to appreciate" (p. viii). This grouping obviously emphasizes topics stressed in Chapter I. Adequate space is allotted to the Roman Odes, considering the date of 6, the relation of 1 to the whole cycle, the combination of Greek mythology and Roman history in 3 and 5, and the importance of geographical detail and the length of 4. In his discussions of the Odes particularly, the author shows his lack of prejudice, his willingness to listen to the poet rather than to the "learned patrons," and he is certainly not always

laudatory to Horace. It is interesting to note some of his general statements.

1. 14. "O navis referent is certainly not one of Horace's masterpieces; but, without any illusion about its merits as a whole, we should strive to keep an open mind and appreciate the felicitous touches in the detail" (p. 157).

3. 22. "... however much we allow for the freaks of our own sentimentality, we may be sure that it has something to do with the nature of this poetry if the simple words imminens villae tua pinus esto cause a surge of delight and nostalgia in the heart of everyone who is as fond of the Italian countryside as he is fond of Horace"

"We now come to a masterpiece, iii. 29, Tyrrhena regum progenies. . . . This uncommon length is but the most conspicuous sign of the grandeur and sublimity which distinguish this poem from the rest of Horace's

symposiac lyrics" (p. 223).

"When we turn from the great and glowing poem Tyrrhena regum progenies to iii. 16. Inclusam Danaen, we cannot but feel rather chilled. This ode, despite some happy poetic colouring, has more of the character

of a sermo than of a carmen" (p. 229). VI. Epistles, Book I. "Horace's Epistles are an organic continuation of his Satires" (p. 310). Fraenkel sees similarities in form and matter between the two, though the former do appear as "genuine letters" (p. 310) in which the reader can catch a glimpse of the character of both the writer and the person addressed and of the world in which they move. Many examples give evidence of this fact and also bring out other typical qualities: grace, warmth, stylistic shades, unobtrusive wisdom, carefully planned structure, precision in detail. Included under Epistle 13 is an excellent summary of Horace's attitude to Augustus throughout his poetry to this point in his career.

VII. Carmen Saeculare. The outstanding features of this section are the excellent documentation of the evidence concerning the background of the celebration and the paragraphs on the importance of this occasion and the recognition by Augustus which brought "Horace back to his true life and his true task" (p. 382), that of writing lyric poetry.

VIII. The Letter to Augustus. This is the only representative of these three letters sometimes called Epistles, Book 2.

IX. Odes, Book IV. All fifteen odes are considered. The author makes clear not only the perfection of the poems themselves, but also the artistic unity of the book.

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Many comparisons and contrasts are pointed out between these and the earlier

"Instead of usurping a place that did not belong to him Horace could now claim a right which he had earned by subjecting himself to a long and severe discipline and by listening all the time to the voice of his own true self" (p. 453). So ends this volume on the master of Latin lyric. Through it Fraenkel will certainly win a place for himself among the number of Horatian scholars. The reader will no doubt disagree with some of his interpretations or consider that undue emphasis is placed on some matters, as is always true in the case of a study of great poetry. (I myself object strongly to a statement concerning Odes 1. 9: "Its heterogeneous elements have not merged into a harmonious unit" and Horace "was aware of the imperfect structure of the Soracte ode" (p. 1771.) Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Fraenkel gives substantial reasons and evidence for his offerings.

The volume will be indispensable to the teacher of Horace on any level, as well as to the scholar interested in further research. The use of five languages and

lengthy documentation may limit its interest and value to the general public. A good general index, index of poems and passages discussed from all authors, a short index of Latin and Greek words and, as stated before, full and excellent documentation plus cross references within the volume, all contribute to its importance as a work of reference.

JANICE M. BENARIO

Sweet Briar College

Essentials of Latin: An Introductory Course Using Selections from Latin Literature, by JOHN F. C. RICHARDS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xiii, 323. Illustrated. \$4.50.

This seems to be a period of re-examination and re-assessment in the field of elementary Latin textbooks. A number of handsome new textbooks have appeared that seem to indicate a dissatisfaction with the older books and the methods that these older texts employed. Professor Richards of Columbia University was fortunate in having his elementary Latin text published under the imprint of the Oxford University Press. There is no doubt that the volume is a handsome tribute to the publisher's art

Professor Richards, in his brief preface clearly states the aims of his book and how it has already been used. There is no doubt that his is a mature Latin book. Intended originally for undergraduates in the School of General Studies at Columbia University and partly for graduate students who need Latin in various fields for the Ph.D. degree, this book has many admirable qualities but also severely circumscribed limitations.

Essentials of Latin contains forty-one formal lessons - adequate for a college semester. All the necessary material for a beginning Latin student is contained in these lessons. The first ten lessons contain "made Latin." Lessons XI to XLI contain exercises which employ carefully selected quotations from Latin literature, both poetry and prose, with Caesar and Cicero bulking large. Each lesson contains grammar, followed by vocabulary, notes (actually little more than another vocabulary) on the quotations, the selections from the quotations (referred to as Exercise 1), sentences to be translated into English based on the quotations mostly (Exercise 2), and a special feature of this book, questions in Latin related to the quotations (Exercise 3), questions which are to be answered in Latin by the beginning student.

It is most unfortunate that Professor Richards' book was published after Frederic M. Wheelock's Latin: An Introductory Course Based on Ancient Authors. Professor Wheelock does everything that Professor Richards is trying to do and much more. Wheelock's pedagogical approach is fuller and more effective. There is no need to go into any detailed analysis here but a few points deserve notice because they are so obvious.

Though Richards' book claims to employ selections from Latin literature, it does not contain even the briefest survey of Latin literature, as Wheelock does in his introduction. An even more serious objection is that the student doesn't know that he is reading "real" Latin unless he turns to Appendix 7 in Richards' book. Wheelock conveniently places the name of the author in parentheses after the various quotations in the exercise. Wheelock begins with "real" (albeit modified) Latin right away. Richards waits until Lesson XI. Wheelock includes material on the Latin language and lavishly indicates correct pronunciation in vocabulary and grammar. The student is given no help in this regard by Richards. Wheelock's notes on the Sententiae Antiquae conveniently follow each quotation; Richards' just as inconveniently precede each section in one large grouping. Wheelock lays little stress on English to Latin exercises; Richards devotes an entire section to such exercises in every lesson. Wheelock lays great emphasis for English and Romance languages students on etymology. citing derivatives from the Latin in these languages where applicable: Richards lavs practically no stress at all on this type of exercise. Richards, however, has questions in Latin to be answered in Latin. The use of this device, basically a modern language practice, fails to appeal to this reviewer in view of the fact that the book avowedly professes to train the student to read selections from Latin literature, not necessarily how to converse in Latin.

The quotations from the Latin authors that Richards uses are perhaps fuller than Wheelock's but I think beginners will also find them more difficult. Wheelock has Loci Antiqui at the end of his book for further selected reading. Richards has an appendix with three selections from the Gospel of Matthew in the Vulgate. Wheelock's grammatical exegesis is full; Richards' is generally skeletal. Richards presumably leaves a great deal more up to the individual teacher than does Wheelock.

The best part of Richards' book can be found in the appendices — seven of them: The Roman Calendar; Latin Meters; Survey of Grammatical Terms; Three Selections from the Vulgate; Review of Important Constructions; Review of Grammar; Identification of Quotations from Latin Authors for Lessons XI-XLI. There are also the customary Latin-English and English-Latin vocabularies, a vocabulary of Persons and Places and a brief index. The illustrations are good and there are maps of the Roman Empire printed on the inside covers.

In short, Professor Richards' book is good as far as it goes, but unfortunately there is already in circulation an excellent Latin text by Frederic M. Wheelock which does what Richards sets out to do more fully and more effectively.

JOHN E. REXINE

Colgate University

 1 Cf. my review of Wheelock in the Modern Language Journal 42, 4 (April, 1958) 209-10. See also CJ 52 (1957) 367-69.

BRIEF NOTICES

Arrian's Life of Alexander the Great, translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt. (The Penguin Classics L81) Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1958. \$85.

A really excellent translation, with a very brief Introduction.

Smaller Classical Dictionary, by SIR WIL-LIAM SMITH. (Dutton Everyman Paperback D 12) New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1958. \$1.45.

This new printing of an old standard will be welcome to many, especially in this paperback form.

History of Ancient Philosophy, by W. Windelband (translated by H. E. Cushman). New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956. \$1.85.

A reproduction of the 1899 translation of this standard work.

A History of Philosophy: I, Greek, Roman, Medieval, by W. WINDELBAND (translated by James H. Tufts). (Harper Torchbook TB 38) New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. \$1.75.

This is a reprint of the 1901 translation of volume one of Windelband's larger work. It covers a little more ground than the book reprinted by Dover.

The End of the Roman Empire in the West, by EDWARD GIBBON. (Harper Torchbook TB 37) New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. \$1.95.

A paperback reprint of volume four (chapters 36-43) of Bury's edition of the Decline and Fall, complete with Bury's notes and appendix.

Aristotelis Topica et Sophistici Elenchi, recensuit W. D. Ross. (OCT) New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. \$4.00.

A new critical text in this valuable series, including a brief Index Verborum Potiorum.

C. Valerii Catulli Carmina, recognovit R. A. B. MYNORS. (OCT) New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. \$1.70.

Another new critical edition, with the fragments and an Appendix giving the texts of the Greek originals of 51 and 66.

The Ancient World, by T. R. GLOVER. (Pelican Book A120) Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1958. Pp. 350, table of dates, index. \$.85.

A reprint of a valuable and interesting book, first published in 1935, reflecting the likeable attitudes and philosophy of its author.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE SEMPLE SCHOLARSHIP grant is offered by CAMWS to a teacher of Greek or Latin within its territory for study in Rome or Athens. For the summer of 1959 the award will be for study at the American Academy in Rome. This grant of \$300 is made in cooperation with the Academy, which will waive tuition fees for the recipient.

Applicants fill out forms which will be supplied by the Chairman of the Committee on Awards, Professor Grace L. Beede, State Univ. of South Dakota, Vermillion. The initial letter of application must be in her hands not later than January 15. Selection will be made in February. Because of the need to make early reservations for trans-Atlantic travel, applicants are urged to write in promptly.

The other members of the Committee on Awards are: Elizabeth Conn, Clarksdale, Miss.; William B. Hetherington, S.J., Xavier Univ.; William C. Korfmacher, St. Louis Univ.; and Carl Roebuck, Northwestern Univ

THE AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE is offering for the summer of 1959 to teachers of Latin in secondary schools three scholarships of \$500 each (plus coach fare up to \$75 to port of embarkation) for the summer session either of the American Academy in Rome or the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Winners may accept other scholarship aid in addition to these grants.

Application forms may be obtained from the chairman of the committee, Professor Robert G. Hoerber, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. Other members of the com-mittee are: Mrs. Philip W. Clark, New Haven, Conn.; Chauncey E. Finch, St. Louis Univ.; Anna Goldsberry, Peoria, Ill.; Alvin Wakeland, Kennett Square, Pa.

Completed applications, including transcripts of undergraduate and graduate study, if convenient, are due in the hands of the chairman by January 1, 1959. Selection will be made soon after February 1. 1959.

WE ARE VERY SORRY to report that D. Herbert Abel has had to end his fine work as Managing Editor, out of consideration for his health. CAMWS and CJ owe him an extremely great debt. Indeed, it will just not seem right to produce the Journal without his efficient and comradely help.

His own suggestion of a successor brings Mrs. Mildred Mosley to the post of Managing Editor, so our good fortune continues. Mrs. Mosley is not really a newcomer, for she had experience and responsibility in giving editorial assistance to Editor Clyde Murley. We heartily welcome her back and to this most important post.

Two MEMBERS of the Editorial Board are away for a spell. Margaret Forbes has had the reward of a sabbatical leave spent in Europe. Before her departure last spring. she arranged that guests edit the first three issues of The Forum in Volume 54. These guest editors are: (October) Gertrude Ewing, Dept. of Foreign Languages, Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute; (November) Austin M. Lashbrook, College of Education, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville; (December) Roy A. Swanson, Dept. of Clas-

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sical Languages, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis. CJ thanks all these people for their generous services.

Fred Householder has received a Guggenheim grant for the linguistic study of Mycenean Greek, and will spend the year, with Mrs. Householder and their two daughters, mostly in London. For 1958-59, Book Reviews will be edited by Verne B. Schuman, himself just back from a long jaunt—mainly for papyrological study—which took his family of three from Egypt to Norway.

At the Vice-President breakfast in Austin, it was suggested that these days of expanding library facilities create an opportunity to increase library subscriptions to CJ. Would you please check your own library and be sure it subscribes?

The transliteration of Greek now practised in CJ is according to the system proposed by André Martinet, "A Project of Transliteration of Classical Greek," Word 9 (1953) 152-61. Use of this system was originally suggested by Saul Levin, Washington Univ., St. Louis. As a recent correspondent remarked, it does make Greek look outlandish; but at least the original Greek can be represented with fair accuracy.

We are glad to print announcements of professional interest, but one does have to dream, to submit them in time. It is best that items arrive at least two months before the date of the issue in which they should appear; this is when copy is scheduled to go to the printer. Items can sometimes be inserted when pages are made up, about a month before the date of the issue, but this is often difficult mechanically. Also, the CJ staff tries to be on time, but issues do not always reach the whole mailing-list early in the month.

Many kind readers have expressed their enjoyment of the new design of the Journal, which was introduced gradually and completed in the last May issue. This is the achievement of a colleague at Indiana University, a skilled specialist in design: William Freidman. Mr. Freidman has now left the campus to work on some large activities in design, but will continue to advise from a distance. In Bloomington, we shall enjoy the services of Mr. Friedman's student, Ronald W. Sterkel, who has been appointed Instructor in the Department of Fine Arts.

Credit goes also to Mr. Paul Fiorio, of Lloyd Hollister Inc., for putting these ideas into reality.

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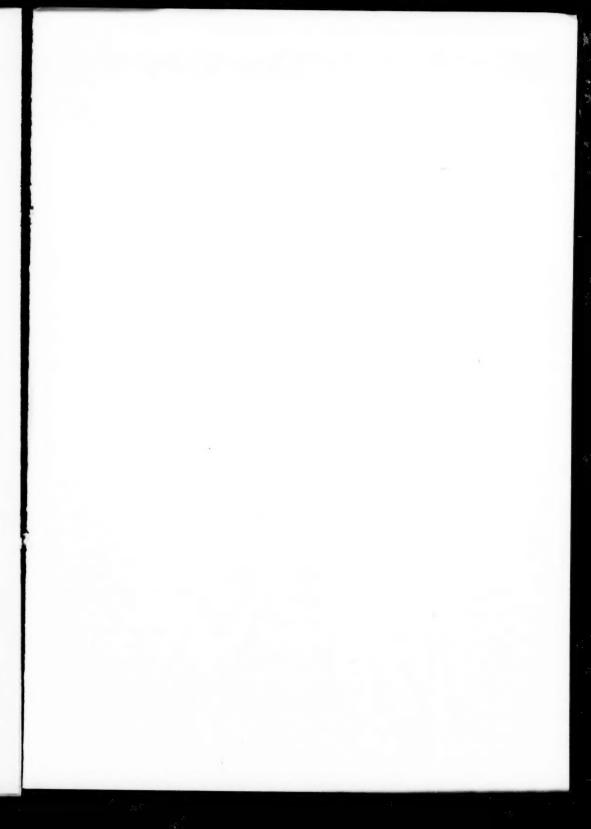
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CORRESPONDENCE

All general editorial correspondence, MSS, etc. to Norman T. Pratt, Jr., Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington. Departmental material to the proper editors. MSS from the Atlantic, New England, and Pacific states to these regional editors. Concerning subscriptions and details of circulation to Professor Hough (address above). On advertising and other business items to Mrs. Mildred H. Mosley, 214 Poplar St., Winnetka, Ill.



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